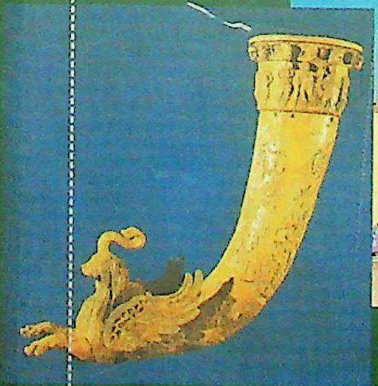
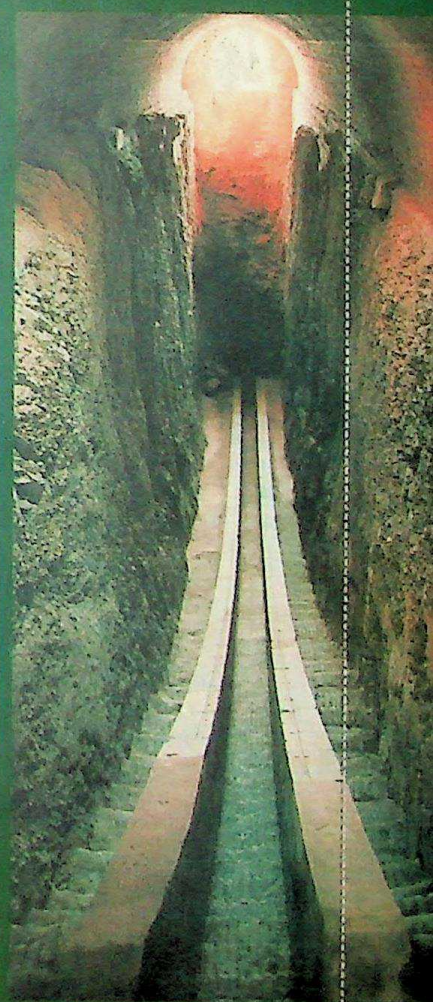
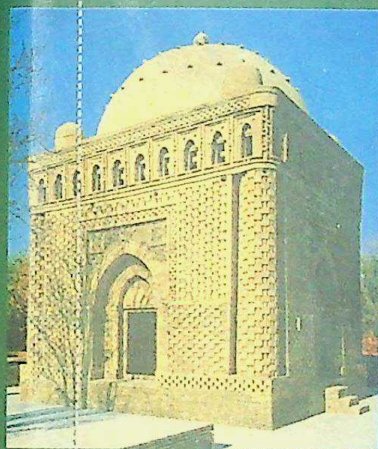


Central Asia

Pre-Historic to Pre-Modern Times

B.G. Gafurov



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies

This work is the English version, published for the first time, of the second edition of the two-volume magnum opus of well-known Soviet Tajik orientalist B.G. Gafurov, brought out in 1989 from Dushanbe in Russian language. The first Russian edition which was published in 1972 from Moscow was followed by Tajik and Persian (in Arabic script) editions as also in the Polish language translated from Russian.

Though titled *Tazhiki*, Gafurov's work is, in fact, a well-researched comprehensive historical account of the march of the peoples (not just the Tajiks) living on the compact territory of Central Asia from times pre-historic to the threshold of the modern age. Creatively developing upon the foundations laid by outstanding Soviet scholars V.V. Bartold, A.A.Semenov and M.S. Andreev of the 20s and A.Iu.Yakubovskii of the 30s of the previous century, Gafurov's work makes use of a plethora of historical sources of the most varied character to work out on the basis of his own research on Tajik history, as also the researches by a host of Soviet scholars in the post-war period, an interdisciplinary framework for understanding the history and culture of the closely linked Central Asian peoples bound by age old civilisational ties with India, Iran, Afghanistan, China and Russia.

Some of the problems analysed in the book are level of development of culture and economy of Central Asia, ties with the neighbouring countries, the Aryan problem, cultural synthesis between Central Asian, Iranian, Indian and Hellenic cultures, chronology and culture of the Kushans, besides history and culture of Tokharistan and Sogd. The Marxist approach of the author is reflected in his emphasis on issues related to economic development and social transformation & the popular struggles against foreign invaders and indigenous oppressors and tyrants.

Rs 2500, US\$ 80
(2 Vols.)

CENTRAL ASIA

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Pre-Historic to Pre-Modern Times

Vol. 1

B.G. GAFUROV

Introduction by
Devendra Kaushik

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata



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This is the first English version of *Tazhiki* by B.G. Gafurov, in Russian language, Dushanbe, 1989.

ISBN: 81-7541-244-5 (Vol 1)

ISBN: 81-7541-245-3 (Vol 2)

ISBN: 81-7541-246-1 (Set)

First English Edition

Published in India in 2005

© Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata

Published by:

SHIPRA PUBLICATIONS

115-A, Vikas Marg, Shakarpur

Delhi-110092, INDIA

Phone: 91-11-55277210, 91-11-22500954

E-mail: info@shiprapublications.com

www.shiprapublications.com

Laser Typesetting by:

Sunshine Graphics

Delhi-110032

Printed at:

Chaudhary Offset Process

Delhi-110051

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Introduction

The publication of English translation of the famous work of Tajik-Soviet scholar B.G. Gafurov – *Tajiki* (in two volumes), first published in Russian from Moscow in 1972 – by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata, is a significant landmark in the development of its programme of Central Asian Studies. It marks the completion of an important task assigned to the Institute by the then Prime Minister of India Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, who in his inaugural address at the International Conference on Central Asia held in New Delhi on 28 July 1999 to commemorate the 90th birth anniversary of Gafurov, urged the Institute to have this work “translated into English and Hindi for the use of Indologists and other scholars in India and elsewhere”.

Babajan Gafurov was a child of the Pamirs – a geo-cultural meeting point of the great Eurasian landmass comprising the countries of India, China and pre-Soviet Russia which included Tajikistan. Born to poor parents on 31 December 1908 in Ipsar village of Khojent district then in Samarkand province, Gafurov's father, Gafurov Sanginov, was a gardener turned railway worker. His mother Raziya Azad who toiled on the estate of a landlord became a famous Tajik poetess in the Soviet era. Babajan received his education in a state-run children's home. He was later sent to study at Moscow Institute of Journalism. Afterwards he studied law in Samarkand and started his career as an Assistant Editor of national daily *Kyzyl Tajikistan*. After taking his Ph.D degree in 1941 on the topic — “History of the Ismaili sect from the beginning of the 19th century to the first imperialist war”, Gafurov entered politics becoming the First Secretary of the

Communist Party of Tadjikistan in 1946. Besides a historian of international repute, Gafurov was also an able administrator and a far-sighted politician. In 1956 he took over the stewardship of the world renowned Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a position which he held until his death in 1977, passing on his mantle to Y.M. Primakov. He assumed the leadership of the Institute in 1956 in the aftermath of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. At the 20th Party Congress, Soviet President Mikoyan had observed, that while the entire Orient was awake, the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow continued to remain asleep. However, things began to change radically during Gafurov's stewardship of the Institute in the following two decades. The old dogmatic and sectarian approach towards India and other newly independent countries was discarded. An active programme of research in the field of Indology was undertaken by the Institute under Gafurov as a result of which a large number of Indian works on literature, politics and international relations were translated into Russian and other languages of the USSR.

Gafurov was a great organiser of academic activities. In 1960 he organised the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow of which he was elected President. In October 1968 he organised an International Conference on the Kushans in Dushanbe. Scholars from 22 countries drawn from Asia, Europe and America participated in it. It was at this conference that I happened to meet him for the first time. The conference presided over by him was such a great success in inspiring the participants and the local Tajik people by the message of religious-cultural harmony leading to prosperity bequeathed by the Kushan era, that, I still remember, how even ordinary men on the street began suggesting that Dushanbe might be better renamed as Kushanbe. During this conference Gafurov hosted a dinner for the Indian and Pakistani participants. I recall how he recounted in a highly animated state his overland travel to India in his dream.

I met him for the second time at the International Conference on Central Asia organised by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations in February 1969 in New Delhi, where I presented a

paper "The democratic trends in the Central Asian literature in the 19th and early 20th century" in a session chaired by him. My paper evoked a heated discussion in which Babajan Gafurov lent support to my position. I also recall my participation in another UNESCO-sponsored International Conference on Central Asia held in Ashkabad in 1972 organised and presided by him. Later I got an opportunity to interact with him more closely during my stay in Moscow as a Visiting Professor at his Institute from 1972 to 1974.

It was during the late sixties and early seventies of the preceding century (which incidentally happened to be the period of my close interaction with Gafurov) that this great Soviet scholar was intensely engaged in writing his magnum opus — *Tajiki*. I also learnt first-hand information from the Editor of the book Prof. B.A. Litvinskii about preparations for finalising the draft of this book and its publication.

In fact, the foundations of Gafurov's work *Tajiki* were laid long-before during the late forties. It is well-known that alongside his party work as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan from 1946 to 1956, Gafurov was actively engaged in his research work in the field of history of the Tajik people. Gafurov had been harbouring a deep desire of writing a general history of his people against the backdrop of their wide historical contacts with other peoples of Central Asia. In 1947 appeared Gafurov's first work on Tajik history in Tajik language. This book was brought out with M.A. Mirzoev, a well-known literary figure in Tajikistan, as Editor. The book titled *History of Tajik People — A Short Sketch* was published in Russian from Moscow in 1949. It was hailed as a seminal contribution to Tajik history since the publication of famous Russian Orientalist V.V. Bartold's *Tajiki* in 1925. The book with I.S. Braginskii as Editor, first published in 1952, ran into three editions, the last one in 1955. The book was reviewed by great scholars of the stature of S. Aini and A.Iu. Yakubovskii. In 1952 Gafurov was awarded D.Lit. degree for this work. During the 1963-65 period, Gafurov participated as one of the general editors in bringing out a three-volume *History of Tajik People*. Following

this, during 1966-67, Gafurov was planning to bring out the fourth edition of the *History of Tajik People*. He discussed with Prof. Litvinskii his plan for updating and revising the above named work by incorporating in it the results of the latest archeological and numismatic researches. Litvinskii suggested that instead of publishing a revised and enlarged edition it would be better if a new work was undertaken. Thus was born the idea of writing *de novo* a work on Tajik history which when completed in early seventies, was published from Moscow in Russian under the title – *Tajiki*.

Five years of intense work resulted in the two volumes of *Tajiki* which was an altogether new work retaining only in a skeletal form some texts from the third edition of *History of the Tajik People*. The new work – *Tajiki* – made extensive use of multitude of archeological, numismatic, linguistic, ethnographic and anthropological materials, as also a plethora of written sources in old and middle Iranian languages, Greek, Latin, Chinese, Indian/Sanskrit, Syrian, Armenian, old Turkic, Arab, Tajik-Persian and other languages.

The political history contained in the work was enriched by a perceptive analysis of socio-economic, cultural and ethno-linguistic developments. In the treatment of the subject of cultural development all aspects including the material culture, literature, history of science, philosophy and art and architecture were taken into account.

More than three decades have passed since the work was first published in 1972. Its rigid Marxist-Leninist theoretical framework may not be acceptable to the present-day readers uninitiated into it. Yet it does not detract from the overall academic merit of the work which is based on unassailable historical facts. Conformity of the author to the Marxist-Leninist framework of analysis, as a discernible reader is likely to note, has resulted in a sympathetic understanding of the urges, aspirations and struggles of the oppressed toiling masses of the Tajik and Central Asian peoples.

Broadly speaking, Gafurov's approach of historical materialism has on the whole benefited his work. It has helped

him in identifying the Akemenid state as a slave-owning military-aristocratic system of governance in which the Akemenids and the local satraps jointly exploited the people in the region of Central Asia. The same approach led him to ascribe the emergence of feudal relations to the Sasanid rule which replaced the Parthian power in Iran and Central Asia giving rise to these relations in an area sandwiched between the slave-owning West and the commune-clan society of the East. Gafurov's work rightly focuses upon the Mazdak movement as protest by communard peasants against inequality of property that emerged with the exploitative and oppressive feudal relations. The emphasis on Mukanna uprising of artisans in Merv, Sumbad's rebellion, as also on the later uprisings of popular masses of Uzbeks and Tajiks in Hissar, Bukhara, Samarkand, Balkh and Tashkent against feudal internecine wars in the early 18th century are other examples of consistent pursuit of this approach.

A great merit of Gafurov's work lies in its extensive use of numismatic and archeological material for studying the trade and economic conditions in Central Asia, especially in the Kushan period. For readers who may still be interested in the great academic and ideological debate of its time on the "Asiatic mode of production", the present work will be a valuable source for information and insight.

The rich material contained in Gafurov's work relating to close kinship and unity of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes as evident from marked similarities between Avestian Ancient Iranian language and the Vedic Sanskrit, points out to their origin from one common source in a people, who in all probability, migrated from Central Asia westwards to Iran, and towards the south to Afghanistan and to northern India. This similarity goes beyond language to the realm of religion, mythology, epics and ideas about cosmos.

This closeness and unity of Indo-Iranian tribes is also reflected in their common self-identification as "Aryans" in ancient Iranian and Indian texts. From this name is derived the modern name of the country of Iran, (from ancient Iranian "Aryanam", that is the country of Aryans), "Aryavrat", a

designation in ancient Indian Sanskrit language for the land of Aryans in northern India, and the Avestian "Aryanam-vaichak", meaning the Aryan space. Gafurov is of the opinion that the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans migrated to India from Central Asia during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC and early 1st millennium BC. Regardless of the direction of migration (from or to India) and its exact period, there is little doubt that the ancient Iranian and Indo-Aryan peoples have a common origin. This discussion raised in Gafurov's work is likely to be of great interest for the Indian readers, as also the author's appraisal of the role and character of great historical figures of the later period like Alexander of Macedonia, Timur, Babur and Mahmud Gaznavi. The work also contains new information about the resistance of the Central Asian peoples to Arab, Greek and Mongol invaders, besides a critical estimate of the impact of these foreign invasions on society, culture and economy of Central Asia.

Gafurov's work makes a wide-use of researches by foreign scholars – British, French, German, American, Japanese, Iranian and, of course, Indian. His portrayal of the history of the Tajik people and culture has for its backdrop the history and culture of the other peoples of Central Asia and the neighbouring peoples of Iran, Afghanistan, India and China.

Although Gafurov's work is titled *Tajiki*, the reader need not be surprised over its treatment of events taking place on the territory of the whole of Central Asia and partly that of Afghanistan, Eastern Iran, North West India and the Chinese province of Xinjiang. This is due to the specific character of the ethnogenesis of the Tajik people on the one hand, and the vast size of their historical and ethnic territory, on the other. A desire to show the historical processes of the development of the Tajiks and their culture not in an isolated manner but in close contact with the history and culture of other peoples has metamorphosed the work into a comprehensive history of Central Asia. The history of the Tajik people and culture cannot be explained and understood without scanning the entire Central Asian historical landscape in its totality. However, Gafurov's work which in certain ways gives the impression of a Tajik-centric view of Central Asian history, is

certainly not a parochial, much less chauvinistic, approach to the developments in Central Asia. The internationalist character of Gafurov's work cannot be missed. As the author writes in the preface of his book, "A study of history of the Tajiks, their original contribution to the treasure-house of human culture is inseparably linked with the study of the history of all the peoples of Central Asia revealing what united them."

Dwelling further upon close links between the Tajiks and the Uzbeks, Gafurov observes, "Especially closely related are the Tajiks and Uzbeks— peoples formed on a common ethnic basis. The cultural treasure-house of the Tajik people has been the property of the Uzbeks as also the achievements of the Uzbek culture have been adopted by the Tajiks; character of the material culture, customs, folk art — all this is kindred, at times indistinguishable. The pre-ancient, ancient and in many ways even the medieval history of these peoples has been very close and often identical; it developed on one and the same territory. Nevertheless, two peoples have been formed, now growing into Tajik and Uzbek socialist nations."

The publication of Gafurov's work *Tajiki* in Russian with B.A. Litvinskii as Editor from Moscow in 1972 was a great success. All the ten thousand copies were sold out in no time. The book ran into two editions in Tajik language published from Dushanbe in 1983 and 1985. An edition of Tajik language was also brought out from Kabul in the Arabic script. It was also translated into Polish language from Russian. A new Russian language edition was published from Dushanbe in 1989. This edition was brought out after extensive modifications and additions. The present English version of *Tajiki* is based on the 1989 Russian edition. Gafurov desired to cover in his second volume of *Tajiki*, developments upto the early 20th century, that is the period before the October Revolution. But his untimely death in 1977 prevented him from going beyond the 18th century.

Gafurov was decorated with Order of Lenin six times. He was also elected to the Supreme Soviet of USSR five times and was a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU from 1952 to 1961. He had a wide circle of admirers in India which included

historians, archeologists, literary figures, social activists, media persons and, of course, politicians and diplomats. In 1970 in a special convocation the Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with a D.Litt. degree.

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Mrs. Anna Leonidovna Dmitrieva and her team of translators for their commendable painstaking English translation of the work. I owe special thanks to Prof. Mahavir Singh, Director Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, for his tireless efforts in overseeing the publication of the present work. I would also like to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from Dr. Nalin Kumar Mohapatra, Project Fellow of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, in my editing work on the present volumes. Thanks are also due to Mr. D. Kumar of Shipra Publication for the nice printing and get-up of the book and its timely publication.

I hope this encyclopedic work on Central Asia by renowned Soviet scholar B.G. Gafurov will evoke the interest it deserves among the wide readership in India and abroad desiring to know more about the history and culture of the Tajiks and other peoples of Central Asia with whom we are bound by age-old civilisational ties.

On behalf of Maulana Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata I would also like to acknowledge our deep sense of gratitude to the "Irfon" Publishing House, Dushanbe, and Prof. B.A. Litvinskii, editor of B.G. Gafurov's work *Tajiki*, 1989 edition, which has been used for the present English version.

5th April, 2005

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Preface

The Tajik people is a part of the great commonwealth of socialist nations constituting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Since distant times the peoples of the USSR have been bound together by close ties of friendship and cooperation; they were united by their common struggle against oppressors and conquerors. This holds good in full measure for the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Kyrgyzs, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks and other peoples of the Central Asian Republics.

Research on history of the Tajik people helps to understand the sources of traditional links of the Central Asian peoples. Especially closely related are the Tajiks and the Uzbeks — peoples formed on a common ethnic basis. The cultural treasures of the Tajik people were also the property of the Uzbek people; in like manner the achievements of the Uzbek culture were widely assimilated by the Tajiks. The character of the material culture, customs, folk art—all this is closely related and at times indistinguishable. The pre-ancient, ancient and in many ways even the medieval history of these peoples is quite closely related, sometimes identical, as it developed on the same territory. Nevertheless two peoples were formed which have now become Tajik and Uzbek socialist nations.

That is why a study of history of the Tajiks, their original contribution to the common treasure house of human culture is inseparably linked with study of the history of all the peoples of Central Asia revealing what united them. It is on the basis of such a study that deep historical roots of brotherly cooperation of the Central Asian peoples can and must be discovered.

Of course, the history of the Tajiks, like the history of all Central Asian peoples is connected with the history of many peoples of the foreign East, with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, the Arab countries and some other countries. The Soviet historians highly value the historically formed links between the peoples of Central Asia and the foreign East which unite them in the struggle for peace and social progress.

In the works of bourgeois historians the past of the peoples of the East, including of the Tajiks, emerges as an unending succession of wars and palace coups, interspersed with stories about the kings, rulers, military commanders episodically introducing facts of history of culture. Historical regularity is either rejected in these works or discussed from idealistic positions.

The vast material on the history of Central Asia shows the futility of the efforts of several bourgeois emigrant historians to present the history of the peoples of Central Asia as free from class contradictions and class struggles and view it only as arena of conflict of different ethnic formations and races. Speculative theories about predominance of one or the other "pure" races are advanced and, contrary to scientific findings races are identified with one or the other peoples. Moreover, they ignore the fact that both the Uzbeks and the Tajiks are related to one and the same Pamiro-Fargana racial type. Efforts to explain the history of Central Asia from the racist positions (like history of other countries as well) are harmful and absolutely unfounded from the scientific point of view.

Truly scientific interpretation of the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of life of the different peoples is possible only in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the history of society. The mechanism of social development was remarkably revealed by K. Marx: "In social production of their life people enter into certain necessary production relations which correspond to certain stage of development of their material productive forces. The totality of these production relations form the economic structure of society, the real basis on which stands the legal and political superstructure and to which certain forms of social

consciousness correspond. Mode of production of material life serves the social, political and spiritual processes of life in general. Not the consciousness of people determine their being, but on the opposite, their social being determines their consciousness”.

“At a particular stage of their development material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing production relations, or—what is only the legal expression of the latter—with the relations of property, within which they hitherto developed. From the form of development of productive forces these relations get transformed into their fetters. Then comes the epoch of social revolution with the change of economic basis there occurs more or less quickly an upheaval in the huge infrastructure.”¹ Proceeding from the determining role of the basis which is the complicated total of production relations in one or the other stage of historical development, Marxist-Leninist science also reveals the laws of mutual relations between the basis and the superstructure, the active role of superstructure and certain forms of social consciousness related to it, spiritual and material culture.

The best spiritual and material cultural values created through thousands of years of social and historical practice of humanity, fruits of its material, scientific and artistic activities, advanced knowledge, progressive theories and forms of creative thinking, i.e., cultural heritage in broadest general sociological significance of its idea remain the powerful means of basic transformation of contemporary society. That is why while trying to practically learn and reunderstand the rich historical past of the peoples, we acquire newer and newer spiritual forces in the interests of genuine social progress and formation of a harmonious communist personality.

As is well-known, class struggle acts as the moving force of historical development in an antagonistic society. Popular unrest and uprisings frequently shook the Central Asian society. K. Marx and F. Engels wrote: “Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebeians, landlord and serf, master and journeyman, in short oppressor and oppressed were in perpetual antagonism to each other, conducted uninterrupted, covert and overt, always ending in

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, t. 13, pp. 6-7.

revolutionary reconstruction of the entire social edifice or general extermination of the struggling classes.²

For historians, V.I. Lenin's observation that for those who find themselves in "labyrinth and chaos" Marxism gives a leading thread which enables them to discover regularity, this thread is the theory of class struggle.³ It is from this position that the past of the Tajik people and other peoples of Central Asia is studied by the Soviet historical science.

Already in the twenties there appeared a number of researches on questions of cultural and political history of Central Asia. It was then that the sketches of the great indigenous orientalist V.V. Bart'old on the history of the Tajiks, Kyrgyzs, Turkmens, his general work "History of Cultural Life of Turkestan", excellent historical and historico-literary works of the founder of Tajik Soviet literature, S. Aini, researches of A.A. Semenov and M.S. Andrev were brought out.

In the thirties, Marxist methodology in the historical researches acquired a leading place. A re-examination of the material collected earlier began from the position of historical materialism (here a particularly notable role was played by A. Iu. Yakubovskii), new sources appeared on the territory of Tajikistan with the beginning of first archaeological expeditions.

The post-war years witnessed a vast increase in the quantity of historical sources of the most varied character: old archives, medieval texts, numismatic, archeological, paleo-anthropological, linguistic and other materials. This considerably deepened the character of researches, enabling the working out of important regularities of the historical process. Besides a study of various questions and problems, historians moved over to creation of monographic and combined works.

In 1947 the author published a general work "History of Tajik People in a short Summary". At first it was published in Tajik language (in 1947) and later in three (last one in 1955) editions in Russian language with corrections and additions in each edition. The chronological frame of this work covered the period ranging

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, t. 4, p. 424.

3. V.I. Lenin, *Pol. Sobr. Soch.*, t. 26, p. 58.

from the pre-historical times to 1917. It gives on the basis of Marxist analysis a brief summary of historical development of the Tajik people. The author also participated in the preparation and editing of a three volume collective work (in five books) "History of the Tajik People" published by the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR (Moscow, 1963-1965). During subsequent years the author continued to work on problems of history and culture of the Tajik people as a result of which abundant material got collected which needed systematization, analysis and generalization.

The present work "Tajiki: Pre-Ancient, Ancient and Mediaeval History" covers the period ranging from the appearance on the territory of Central Asia the first human communities to the threshold of modern times (the middle of the 18th century).

The book consists of five parts. The first part is devoted to an explanation of the primitive community system on the territory of Central Asia. The second part throws light on the life of various tribes and nationalities—the ancestors of the Tajiks—in the epoch of development of slave-owning relations. In the third part the historical destinies of Central Asia in the period of emergence of feudal relations are examined. This is followed by the fourth part—"Central Asia in the period of development and consolidation of the feudal system", and, finally, the fifth part is devoted to the period of developed feudalism in Central Asia. The work includes a short historical reference, list of cited sources and literature as well as an index.

The author certainly did not intend to throw encyclopedic light on all problems of history of the Tajik people without any exception. The idea was to link the historical canvass with the researches on more important complex and often-discussed problems. A summary of the history and culture of the Tajik people is attempted against the backdrop of history and culture of all peoples inhabiting Central Asia as an integral part of the common history (and culture) of the Central Asian peoples.

Studying the pre-ancient, ancient and early medieval history of the Tajiks one discovers that a lot of it is still in the process of formation as the flow of new material is exceptionally large. Here it is often not possible to finally solve a problem, and hence along

with pragmatically summarizing the facts, the book examines the various hypotheses of Soviet and foreign colleagues while formulating observations and viewpoint of the author. Naturally, it required detailed statement; references and citations of sources and corresponding historical, archeological, numismatic, linguistic, epigraphical, literary publications and researches.

In the fourth and fifth parts of the book, on issues where the material is already sufficiently or fully elucidated, we have tried to avoid repeating the conclusions already made by our predecessors. Thus it relates to the chapters on medieval, political and partly cultural history which has been sufficiently illuminated by the works of several generations of Russian and Soviet Orientalists (in the first place, of course, V.V. Bar'told, A. Iu. Yakubovskii, A.A. Semenov, E.A. Bertels, P.P. Ivanov and others). Hence the citation references here are more of a summary character.

Here are some of the problems analysed in the book: the level of development of culture and economy of Central Asia in the epoch of Bronze Age and ties with the tribes of Hindustan, Iran and other countries: the Aryan problem and the ethno-linguistic substratum of ancient tribes and peoples of Central Asia, northern India, Afghanistan, Iran and the Eurasian steppe; emergence of class society, Central Asian, Iranian, Indian, Hellenistic synthesis; origins, chronological problems and culture of the Kushans. A special chapter is devoted to the socio-economic structure of ancient Central Asia, where besides a historiographical elucidation of this vexed problem an analysis of all the available material is made, part of which has been brought to light in this connection for the first time.

The history and culture of early medieval Tukharistan and Sogd has been dealt with in great detail; it has been established that the emergence and development of feudal relations resulted in progressive changes in the life of society: growth of productive forces and extraordinary rise of artistic culture. Undoubtedly, in the Kushan, early mediaeval and the later epochs, Central Asia became one of the most important cultural centres of the East.

In these chapters related to the affirmation and development of feudal relations, attention is concentrated on the new material

brought to light by Soviet scholarship during the last two decades. This in the first place takes into account researches about the development of productive forces and production relations, economic life in its regularities and concrete manifestations.

The book places a basic stress on appearance of specifics in every period, on observation of the dynamics of different socio-economic institutions. The author has made use of the data of those disciplines and sources (mainly documentary and numismatical; in their understanding and Marxist interpretation O.D. Chekhovich and E.A. Davidovich have made a significant contribution) which were little or not at all used for reconstructing the general historical picture and for determining the character of development of society in medieval Central Asia. The medieval culture of the Tajik people is briefly elucidated in all its aspects: literature, science, art, architecture, material culture. Some facts about the cultural life of other peoples of Central Asia have also been highlighted.

The ethnogenesis processes have also received attention in the book. The author has tried to concentrate upon and analyse all the data available to contemporary science—data contained in written sources, linguistics, paleo-anthropology and anthropology, ethnography, literary criticism—for tracing the path of formation of the Tajik people. Special section is also devoted to formation of the Uzbek people—here, as in other parts of the book, results of the researches of Uzbek colleagues have been liberally used to show convincingly the very old sources of Uzbek ethnogenesis, high level and originality of the culture of the Uzbek people.

In the present monograph the interpretation contained in our scholarly literature including also the works by the author of the consequences of inclusion of Central Asia in the Achemenid state, the Graeco-Macedonian empire and the Arab Caliphate, has been expanded to a certain extent. Two interpretations are well-known in this connection—one, typical of the bourgeois scholarship, unreserved admiration for the conqueror and direct or indirect belittling of the cultural level of the peoples of Central Asia; second, elucidation, as prevalent in the Soviet literature, stressing the just struggle of the freedom-loving tribes and peoples against

the conquerors and projection of the original character and highly developed level of the local Central Asian culture. But the struggle against the bourgeois conceptions and the Marxist interpretation opposed to them remained confined only to one part of the problem, mainly in relation to political events. In this connection the socio-economic consequences were not adequately investigated; these remained either in the dark or often explained in an exclusively negative way. The author has tried to add to this group of problems material about economic and historico-cultural links and the mutual influence of peoples and cultural synthesis.

The book also contains historical maps reproduced from "The History of the Tajik People" (T. I-II, Moscow, 1963-1964). Illustrations have been generously provided by the State Hermitage, Institute of Art, Uzbek SSR, A. Donish Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of Tajik SSR, the British Museum, French Archeological Mission in Afghanistan and other Soviet and foreign scientific institutions and individual scholars to whom the author expresses his sincere gratitude.

The work was completed in 1970. Hence it makes use of those sources and researches which were available to the author at the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970; later sources could be used only partly while making corrections.

The author remains grateful to all those who helped him by their advice, observations and criticism, particularly to A.E. Bertels, I.S. Braginskii, E.A. Grantovskii, E.A. Davidovich, A.M. Mirzoev, I.M. Oranskii, V.A. Ranov, V.A. Romodin and, of course, the editor of this book B.A. Litvinskii.

B.G. Gafurov

PART I

The Primitive Community System and its Decline on the Territory of Central Asia

Chapter 1

The Primitive Communities in Central Asia

1. Paleolith Pre-Tribal Society

Emergence of Tribal Society

Monuments of Lower Paleolith

It is difficult to say as to when the first men appeared on the territory of Central Asia because the oldest traces of their life might not have been preserved. Some scholars are of the view that Central Asia could have been a part of the zone of territory on which apes evolved into human beings,¹ and even though this view cannot be considered as a generally accepted one, nevertheless the possibility of finding on this territory the oldest remnants of human life cannot be ruled out.

In 1953, A.P. Okladnikov discovered, on river On-Archa close to river Naryn in Kyrgyzstan, in a stone wall of ancient middle pleistocene terraces, a large stone possessed by man, one end of which is like a long slightly arched bulging chipped off blade. Similar stone implements are known, in archaeological literature, as pebble cutting instruments — choppers.² It was the first discovery of its kind in Central Asia. During subsequent years such implements were found at ten different sites in Central Asia.³ Stone implements of this type are well known in most parts of the “ancient world” and are characteristic of characterize as the oldest known stone culture of humanity.⁴

1. Nesturkh M.F., 1964.

2. Okladnikov A.P., 1966 b, p. 19.

3. Ranov V.A., 1966 b, p. 19.

4. See for example Movius H.L., 1944; Leakey L.S.B., 1951, and others.

Typological analysis shows that the stone implements of Central Asia are closely analogous to the so called Soan Paleolithic culture of India.⁵ This indicates that these countries had a common historical path in the epoch of the lower Paleolith. Geological data show that the carriers of the stone culture lived in the epoch of the first inter-glacier age and the succeeding Rees ice age, i.e. in the middle Pleistocene epoch, more than 200 thousand years ago. In that period there existed such animals as the ancient form of elephants and fossil horse, early forms of mammoth, long horn bisons, different types of rhinoceros. From all indications it appears that population in that period was very sparse.

Implements of a different type like hand chopper, highly characteristic of the lower Paleolith period in Europe, are found only in Turkmenistan.

Monuments of the Middle Paleolith

The next stage in the life of primitive man — the middle Paleolith — is more richly represented in Central Asia. This is the time of the dawn of the Muster culture, the time of the existence of the Neanderthals, from whom at the threshold of the Middle and upper Paleolith people of the contemporary type were evolved.

The productive forces of society began to change more rapidly than in the epoch of lower Paleolith: the techniques of making implements were speedily perfected, their forms changed and functions became more varied. People learnt not only to keep up the fire but to obtain it. Latest statistical methods allow to bring out in different regions, including Central Asia, several local cultures of the Middle Stone Age, which perhaps reflect existence of something like large social unions.

Muster caves and open settlements have been discovered at many places of Central Asia, in the planes and the mountains.

In Turkmenistan these have been found on the Krasnovodsk peninsula and in the Central Kopet-Dag ranges, in Uzbekistan in cave camps near Tashkent and Samarkand and in Tajikistan a large number of open settlements in western Fargana, in the region of

5. Ranov, V.A., 1964 a.

Ura-Tiube, in Gissar and Vaksh valley and in the area of Dangara. In the recent years traces of Muster culture have been found in northern Kyrgyzstan also.

The Teshik-Tash grotto has become famous all over the USSR and abroad.⁶ It is located at a place not far from the city of Termez in the valley of river Turgan-dari in the Baisun-Tau hills. In this grotto five cultural layers have been traced, which were left behind by the Neanderthals returning back to the old place. About 3,000 stone articles have been discovered here out of which 339 are finished implements. Among them two types are more prevalent — sharp-edged stone blade and an oval-shaped spade. The sharp-edged one was mainly used as a cutting implement for processing wood, hide or as a knife. Other implements are rarely found. The main hunting object for the Teshik-Tash people was the Siberian mountain goat, available in large numbers in the mountains of Central Asia. They also hunted dears, bears, leopards and smaller wild animals.

The discovery of remains of a Muster man — an 8-9 years old boy — became an event of world wide importance. In spite of the fact that from the time of this discovery more than three decades have already passed, archaeologists have not succeeded in finding another skeleton of this type, though in our country tens of Musterian camps are well known. Around the remnants of the bones (skull of the boy and bones of his skeleton) horns of a mountain goat were discovered which indicates pre-meditated burial.

The collection of stone implements from Teshik-Tash is being supplemented now by other cave monuments among which mention may be made of the relics found at the recently excavated grotto of Obirahmat, 100 kilometers from Tashkent. The materials of this interesting excavation have not been published in detail. Here more than 30 thousand articles of the Musterian period have been collected.

Considerable material has been found in the valley of river Syr-daria between Leninabad and Naukat in Kairakkum. In this

6. Okladnikov A.P., 1949.

district implements of two stages of the Muster period are related to the remnants of the old terraces of the Syr-daria. Among them, as in Teshik-Tash, the sharp-edged implements and scrapers are not made of siliceous limestone but of thick and hard porphyry.

All these relics belong to the so-called Levaeva-Muster culture and are analogous to the Muster monuments of the Near East.⁷

In south Tajikistan, however, several Muster relics of a completely different character have been discovered which are akin to the cultures of India and other countries, situated to the south and east of Tajikistan. A large site of this type — Kara-Bura in the Vaksh valley (not far away from the settlement Jilikul) was investigated by V.A. Ranov. It is related to a series of not very high sandy points covered from above with two metre-thick stony surface. It is in such stony places that the Muster articles have been found. They are interesting because besides the usual Muster implements some peculiar type of articles of stone — real stone implements — choppers, etc. have been discovered which have a great resemblance with similar articles of later stages of the Soan culture of India.

Thus, beginning with the Muster period one can notice in the cultures of the stone age in Central Asia a certain similarity with the two large Paleolithic regions — the Near and Eastern Asia. This closeness of cultures can be observed in the later period of the Neolith.⁸ The age of the main relics of the Muster period in Central Asia, in the light of the latest data, is 50 to 40 thousand years.⁹

Monuments of the Upper Paleolith

Approximately 35-40 thousand years ago the formation of man of the contemporary type — *Homo Sapiens* — can be said to have commenced.

To this period a sharp improvement in the inventory of stone implements can be traced. The three or four main types of implements of the Muster period are replaced by a whole collection of various types of stone implements.

7. Okladnikov A.P., 1966 b, pp. 48-49.

8. Ranov, V.A., 1965 b.

9. Okladnikov A.P., 1966 b, pp. 45-46; also Ivanov I.K., 1965.

With the improvement of implements their size was sharply reduced, enriching the methods of hunting.

In the upper Paleolith period mature matriarchal clans emerge which represent exogamous groups of people bound by types of kinship and common origin from the maternal side.

Upper Paleolith in Central Asia has not been studied in depth. Obviously, in comparison with the Muster period, natural conditions were not quite favourable for life of the upper Paleolithic people in all regions of Central Asia.

A more important abode for Upper Paleolithic monuments was Samarkand where their traces can be found scattered all over the territory of the city. Among thousands of articles discovered from the three cultural layers, there are different types of implements: scrabers, chisels, spades, scooping instruments and hewing implements etc. In 1964 a jaw of upper Paleolithic man was discovered here. The leader of the expedition D.N. Lev conjectured that people in Samarkand habitat lived in mud and stone houses. The main hunting prey for them was the horse, donkey, bison, camel, antelope, wild goat and reindeer.¹⁰

Other monuments of the Upper Paleolith are located in the small valley of the Turkestan mountain range not far from the village Chorku, in the place famous under the name of Khoja-Gor.¹¹ It belongs to the end of the Upper Paleolith period; people lived here perhaps 12-15 thousand years ago in the contemporary geological epoch. The cultural layer has not been preserved here — flint implements have been swept away by flood waters,¹² but the relics discovered here are interesting as they represent a very rich collection of flint implements, substantially different in form and processing technique from the implements found at the habitat in Samarkand.

Taking into consideration other materials as well, one can say that in the Upper Paleolith epoch in Central Asia two technical traditions continue to exist. One is related to the East Asian and

10. Lev D.N., 1965.

11. Okladnikov A.P., 1964, p. 170.

12. Nesmeyanov, S.A.; Ranov V.A., 1964.

Siberian Paleolith (the Samarkand habitat) and the other, to the Near East (Khoja-Gor).

Characteristics of Paleolithic Society

On the basis of archaeological materials we have examined the productive forces of the Central Asian society in the Paleolith epoch. The problem of social evolution of this society is extremely complicated. Even the basic regularities of its evolution have not been determined in the works of sociologists and the proposed schemes are subject of sharp discussions and debates.¹³ The question of peculiarities of developments of society of the epoch of Paleolith in Central Asia has not yet been raised.

To state that for most of the period of time human society remained in the Stone Age would be a sort of general statement. Let us give the comparison which though is often repeated. If we were to assume that the entire span of human civilization, before the great October Socialist Revolution, consisted of just one year, then the conversion of ape into man took place at the beginning of January, the Paleolith continued up to the 25 December, and the entire history of Central Asian class society would be compressed into the last half hour before the new year!

In the Lower Paleolith, social organisation was highly primitive. F. Engels gave the name 'herds' to the collectives of people in the ancient times which had just been formed.¹⁴ V.I. Lenin placed "primitive herd" and "primitive commune" in strict sequence.¹⁵

The period of formation of the primitive herd was the period of formation of human society when its first foundations were laid. In the end of the Middle and Upper Paleolith there emerged the tribal organization of society — the primitive communes with the tribal system. It was matriarchal tribal system in which the role of

13. See for example, Semenov Iu. I. 1966; Semenov Iu.I., 1968; Ter-Akolyan N.B., 1968; Butinov N.A.; 1968; Kabo V.R., 1968 (these works contain detailed bibliography and problems of historiography).

14. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 34, p. 138.

15. V.I. Lenin, *Pol. Sob. Soch*, T. 48, p. 232.

women was very high.¹⁶ Family relations existed within the group marriage system.

Production was collective and corresponded to a very low level of productive forces. "This primitive type of cooperative or collective production was, of course, a result of weak individual personality and not socialization of means of production."¹⁷ Productive forces did not remain stagnant as they improved slowly. The progress and development of productive forces and social organization led to a complicated form of human culture. It may be noted that the possession of the method of producing fire, construction of primitive houses, development of hunting of large animals and the settled way of life associated with it — all these major developments characterise the progressive development of human society. As the burial of the boy in Teshik-Tash shows, a rudimentary cult of the dead also appeared as the first conception of religion.

2. Mesolith and Neolith Age

The general duration of the Mesolith and the Neolith period is 10-15 thousand years, varying from place to place. On the basis of available archaeological data, an inference can be drawn that in this period there was in Central Asia a sizeable population was living in conditions of a matriarchal tribal system. The implements of production improved and became more perfect. Implements for grinding, drilling and sawing, which were unknown earlier, found a wide use. New forms of economy appeared in the form of pottery production, hoe cultivation and primitive animal husbandry. In different areas of Central Asia settlements of hunters, fishermen, hunter-animal breeders or primitive land cultivators were formed depending on the local natural conditions.

16. In the Soviet historiography there also exists a different viewpoint (see Kabo V.R., 1968, pp. 258-265).

17. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 19, p. 404.

Mesolithic Monuments

Mesolithic monuments have been studied in greater detail in the near-Caspian region where A.P. Okladnikov excavated the interesting cave of Jebel.¹⁸ In the later years these data have been enriched by studies of other caves — Dam-Dam-Chasma.¹⁹ In the numerous cultural layers of these caves and other monuments of the near-Caspian region tens and hundreds of small flint implements, among which particularly interesting are implements of geometrical form segments, triangles, trapeziums, have been discovered.

Archaeological data indicates that in the Mesolith and the early Paleolith period, which followed it, along with the hunting profession fishing profession also developed besides that of food gathering. In their nature the near-Caspian region monuments are close to the contemporary culture of the Near Asian region.²⁰

The monuments discovered by V.A. Ranov on the Pamir are quite different. In the exclusive conditions of high mountains, at an altitude of 3.5 thousand metres to 9.5 thousand metres above the sea level, the highest human habitats have been discovered where people lived 9 thousand years ago (these habitats have been dated on the basis of physical investigation of coal from the hearths of Oshkhon).²¹

By its very nature it is another culture, sharply different from that of the western Mesolith. Here crude implements of the types of stone scoopers dominate. The Paleolithic technique is dominant here and geometrical instruments are completely absent. We have before us the habitat of hunters who came during summer times to places full of birds. At the habitat in Oshkhon four cultural layers, with more than 10 thousand implements, have been found.²²

18. Okladnikov A.P., 1956.

19. Markov E.E., 1966.

20. Okladnikov A.P., 1966 a.

21. Butomo S.V., *et al.*, 1964.

22. Ranov, V.A., 1962 b.

Neolithic Monuments

Approximately 7-9 thousand years ago the epoch of the new Stone Age began.

In Central Asia three quite distinct cultures, different from one another in the archaeological materials and conditions of existence, have been discovered. In this period historical changes in the life of human society are taking place. Mankind was moving from period of acquisition to the period of production — hunting and food-gathering are replaced by land cultivation and animal husbandry. This change is often called the “Neolithic revolution”. This term, however, is highly relative.

Along the foothills of Kopetdag in that period there were settlements of people belonging to the Jeitun culture — tribes who changed over to cultivation of land earlier than at any other place on the territory of the USSR. These tribes lived in clan villages in houses made of unique round bricks. The presence of cattle-breeding may be noted here. Land cultivation implements, first of all, in the form of primitive sickles which constitute 36.5% of all the implements under study (divided into cultures of wheat and barley). The flint stock is accompanied by discovery of fragments of earthen pottery. Vessels were made by hand and sometimes painted with wavy or suddenly gushing lines and eye-shaped decorations. It is the oldest known ceramic from Central Asia.

At a more fully studied settlement of this culture called Jeitun, some small earthen figures of animals and men have also been discovered which in the opinion of V.M. Masson represent tribal fetishes.²³ The chronological limits of the existence of the main monuments of the Jeitun culture go back to the VI millennium B.C.

The plane part of Central Asia (especially the Bukharan oasis and the area near the Aral Sea) was inhabited by a different community. The monuments left behind by this group are known as Keltminarian. In contrast with the former, it is basically a culture of hunters and fishermen. But, in later stages of their development, the Keltminar people had already tamed the animals

23. Masson V.M., 1966 b, p. 88.

and learnt land cultivation. The generally accepted date of the existence of this community is IV-III millennia B.C.

Thus in this epoch one notices uneven development of cultures of the stone age. The life of the Keltminar tribes is more graphically revealed by the excavations carried out at Janbas-kala where remains of a vast oval-shaped house built on land with a frame made of wood and cane have been discovered. It served a tribal community of 100 or more persons. An even larger house of similar construction has been discovered at the habitat Kovat.²⁴

Keltminar culture is characterized by a small flint inventory and a developed storage technique. Flint was extracted in the mountains of Sultanzdag where a workshop for stone breaking and flint processing has been found (Burly 3) related to the Keltminar times. In the settlements a large quantity of ceramics has been discovered including the decorated ceramics.

The foothills and the hilly part of Central Asia were inhabited by the third tribal community represented by the Gissar culture. It is the real "hilly Neolith" period characterized by specific conditions of existence in the mountain valleys. The first researcher of Gissar culture, A.P. Okladnikov noted the extreme originality of the stone inventory of the Gissar culture the main component of which were the stone tools representing the consummation of the development of implements of this type in Central Asia. The other specific character of this culture is the almost complete absence of ceramics.

A.P. Okladnikov was of the opinion that the carriers of Gissar culture were the first land cultivators of the hilly regions though, besides land cultivation and cattle breeding, hunting also continued to play an important role in their life. New light is thrown on the Gissar culture and its economic basis by the excavations at Tutkaul (on the left bank of the Vaksh River near Nurek) where a rich and multi layered settlement of this period spread over a large area is being studied. At Tutkaul four cultural horizons have been opened up (two Mesolithic from X-VIII millennium B.C. and two Gissar culture itself). In the Gissar

24. Tolstov S.P., 1948 a, pp. 59-66, Vinogradov A.V., 1968, Korobkova G.F., 1969.

horizons there have been found semi-spherical homes built of stones and an original type of "dwelling spaces" sometimes laid in several strata made of stones. Such dwelling spaces consisting of light frame houses of wood were found in excavations in the Near East.²⁵

Among more than 40 thousand articles from the Stone Age discovered during excavations at Tutkaul there are excellent polished axes, knives with shining blades, domestic hand instruments: perforation and scrapping; large number of implements used for processing wood. Hunting instruments were spears and javelins equipped with small discs placed in a slot with a base of wood or bone and fastened with resin or other binding substance.

Big implements of stone found in a large number are characteristic of the Gissar monuments.

Bone implements are few in number.

Bone relics have also been found — the first anthropological discovery of people of Gissar culture. The age of Gissar strata has been determined, by radiocarbon dating at 5150–5140 years B.C., for the upper part of the horizon.

It is very difficult to determine the economic basis of the Gissar culture of the Tutkaul stage. But on the basis of archaeological data this settlement is not of hunters and food gatherers but of people who are either moving towards productive form of economy or have just reached this form. The economy of the ancient mountain dwellers of Tutkaul is closer to the stage of "incipient land cultivation and cattle breeding". A number of indicators point to the decisive role of cattle breeding. Some of the bones from the cultural layer already examined are bones of domestic sheep and goats.

We have now some basis for determining the frontiers of the extent of the Gissar culture. Monuments of this type cover the valleys of the Tajik depression. Cultures close to the Gissar culture have unfortunately not been adequately studied. These are found in other areas of the mountains of Central Asia, partly in northern Tajikistan, in Fargana and the banks of the Issyk-Kul Lake.

25. Braidwood R.I., 1967, pp. 106-107.

The chronological divisions of the monuments of the Gissar culture are being established. This is not less than three thousand years B.C. (VI-III thousand years B.C.) Tutkaul monuments belong to the more early period, the Kui-Bulyon to the middle, and the later monuments are represented by Tepe-i-Goziyon in Gissar.²⁶

The transition from the Gissar culture to the cultures of the metallic epoch has been studied even more inadequately.

Earliest Rock Paintings

For researchers studying the past rock paintings are of great interest, as they provide a rich material for understanding the thinking of the ancient man, his image of the surrounding world and his ideology.

In Central Asia thousands of drawings engraved on rocks are found in many areas. Particularly known are the pictures on the rocks at Saimaly-Tash in Fargana²⁷ and Lyangarkisht in the western Pamir.²⁸ In Tajikistan numerous places can be identified along the Zeravshan River and its tributaries where rock paintings have been discovered.²⁹ They have also been found in the Kuraminskii mountain range³⁰ and at several other places. In the Pamir alone about 50 such places have been identified.³¹ However, a great part of the above mentioned rock paintings belong to the historical times and partly to the earlier one — the Scythian-Sarmatian period. Their study is a fascinating subject. Several generations of archaeologists and art historians will have to work hard to resolve many problems connected with them.

But the oldest drawings on the rocks by man in the Stone Age are even more interesting. These are found only at a few places and vary both in their themes as well as style of execution. In contrast with the later drawings engraved or depicted on the surface of the rock or on separate stones, older paintings are filled with colour.

26. Korobkova G.F., Ranov V.A., 1968.

27. Bernshtam A.N. 1952.

28. Ranov V.A. 1960 a.

29. Dalskii A.N., 1949; Mandelshtam A.M., 1956.

30. Ranov V.A., 1960 b.

31. Ranov V.A., Gurskii A.V., 1960.

The paintings of Zaraut-saya (Uzbekistan) are more famous. They have acquired world fame. Among them the picture showing hunters of wild bulls wearing wide cloaks are particularly interesting. According to latest data, these pictures relate to the Neolith-Eneolith, though connection of the earlier layer with the Mesolith cannot be ruled out.³²

The paintings found in the grotto of Shakhta excavated by V.A. Ranov in the eastern Pamir in 1958 could be the ancient-most. Here on the wall of a small grotto, at a height of 4.2 thousand metres above the sea level, paintings in two colours have been preserved. In these paintings human figures behind birds, boars and bears are clearly visible. The animals are hit by the flying arrows. Judged by their style-related data the paintings in the Shakhta grotto are older than the ones from Zaraut-saya and can be dated back to the Neolith or Mesolith.³³

The drawings discovered at two other high mountain places in Central Asia on river Saryjas³⁴ and not far away from the grotto of Shakhta in Kurtek-sae³⁵ belong to a later period — the late Neolith or the Bronze epoch.

3. The Bronze Age

Transition to the Patriarchal Tribe

The Bronze Age is an important epoch in the history of mankind. During this period substantial changes are taking place, in both development of productive forces and in the social system: the extraction and melting of ore, production of metallic implements begins, cultivation of land along with artificial irrigation commences, almost all tribes of Central Asia take to an economy of production and large settlements emerge; towards the end of the period social and economic inequality develops paving way for rise of class society in the subsequent period.

32. Formozov A.A., 1966; 1969, pp. 60-78.

33. Ranov V.A. 1961.

34. Okladnikov A.P., Ratsek V.I., 1954.

35. Ranov V.A., 1964.

The early period of the Bronze Age is called the Chalcolithic-copper-stone age. It is during this period that the use of copper implements and wares gradually begins to spread although stone implements still remain in abundant use. In the south, in Turkmenistan, Chalcolithic period covers V-III millennium B.C. and in other regions it continues up to the II millennium B.C. The proper Bronze Age extends from the end of the III millennium B.C. up to the IX-VIII centuries B.C.

In the Bronze epoch, the Central Asian tribes attained a very high level of material and spiritual culture. At the same time they were a link in the chain joining the urban civilization of Near and Middle East and India on the one side and the tribes of the Volga region, Kazakhstan, Siberia, Central Asia and China on the other. There exists, in the Western literature, an obvious under evaluation of the significance of the Central Asian Civilizations. A serious work published by the UNESCO as "History of Mankind Development of Culture and Science" has the following observation to make about the south Turkmenistan culture in the bronze epoch: "Its character is relatively simple. It is the culture of a society in the backwaters rather than in the mainstream of progress."³⁶ Materials provided by Soviet researchers completely refute such nihilistic views. The contribution of Central Asia to the culture of the East, in this period, was quite high. From Central Asia travelled to the neighbouring India, Afghanistan and Iran the tribes who were the carriers of Iranian and Indian languages. Those who were left in Central Asia differed from them somewhat and in future stood apart from the ones who went to Iran and Hindustan. Subsequent development of Central Asian culture demonstrate the decisive predominance of the tradition going back to the Chalcolithic period.

Productive Forces

Over the centuries the implements of production further became perfect and the technology grew. One of the directions of this development resulted in appearance of smelting of metals. Science

36. Hawkes J. and Wolley L., 1963, p. 827.

has no definite data about the origin of primitive metallurgy. In the beginning native metals were treated in the same manner as stones. Gradually, people began to understand that, some 'stones' possessed special properties particularly malleability. Later when in the cooled ashes of fire man on several occasions found pieces of copper formed in fire out of copper stones, there arose the idea of deliberate extraction of copper from the ore, i.e., ore-smelting. Acquaintance with the art of pottery making played no small role in mastering the process of smelting metals. These first steps in the field of primitive metallurgy were taken with great difficulty and as archaeologists have shown they took several thousand years.

However, the copper, implements were not very effective as they were not sufficiently hard. The situation sharply changed with the appearance of smelting of copper and tin (it was at times changed for lead, antimony and arsenic). On account of its many technological advantages this smelting of bronze facilitated, thanks to its hardness, making of metallic implements though stone implements were not completely phased out.³⁷

F. Engels wrote, "most important among them (metals — B.G.) were copper and tin as also bronze made out of them; bronze gave superior implements and weapons, but stone implements were not driven out; it could be done only under the force of iron and extraction of iron ore was not yet known".³⁸

In Central Asia there are many places where copper ore is found, which could be exploited and was exploited in the Bronze Age. Thus in Fargana copper ore was received partly from the place called Naukat and in the Chatkalo-Kuraminsk hills; in Central Asia copper ore extraction was also known in the hills of Bukan-Tau. Gradually the range of ore used for smelting expanded; in the beginning primitive metallurgy smelted copper from oxidized ore but later on, the more complicated technology for smelting copper from the more widespread sulphide ores was mastered. Tin was also extracted in Central Asia, for example, in

37. Bogaevskii B.L., 1936, pp. 390-439; Litvinskii B.A., 1954 b, pp. 13-36; "A history of Technology", 1957, pp. 572-598.

38. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 21, p. 161.

the mines of Karnab to the south of Zeravshan valley and also at other places.³⁹

Agriculture and cattle breeding, which had already appeared in the earlier period, was transformed into leading branches of economy. Hunting was reduced to secondary importance.

In southern Turkmenistan where many small rivers and streams flow, in the beginning natural irrigation was used by land cultivators. Sowing was practiced in the raw silt. Already, by VI millennium B.C. (end of the Neolith) the first irrigation complex appeared which is one of the oldest in the entire Near East. An artificial irrigation reservoir, with a capacity of 3.5 thousand cubic metres of water, is well-known. Irrigation channels belonging to a later period (on the threshold of IV-III millennium B.C.) irrigating in one of the southern Turkmenistan settlements, about 150 hectares of cultivated land with drains linking the canals, have been found. The main crops in the beginning were two row variety of barley and soft and dwarf variety of wheat. Rye and small grapes were also produced. Initially stone sickles were used which were later replaced by those made of copper and bronze. There are reasons to assume that in the developed and later Bronze Age animal power was used for cultivating fields. Small cattle like sheep and goats formed the bulk of the animals and horses and camels were also used.⁴⁰

Among the tribes living in other regions of Central Asia, irrigated cultivation started in a later period though still in Bronze Age. There exists irrefutable evidence of irrigation by canals in Khwarezm in the II millennium B.C.⁴¹ Canals probably existed in Fargana as well. The proportion of cattle-breeding in the economy was higher in these regions than in South Turkmenistan.

Besides extraction of metals, metallurgy, land cultivation and cattle-breeding, production of ceramics and stone artifacts on a large scale had also started.

39. Litvinskii B.A. and others, 1950, 1962, pp. 189-191.

40. Lisitsyna G.N. 1965; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i Bronzy, M.L., 1966, pp. 110-113.

41. Itina M.A., 1968; Andrianov B.V., 1969, pp. 102-110.

Historico-cultural Regions of Central Asia

The course of historical development in the different regions of Central Asia, in the bronze epoch, was not quite even. Two large regions can be identified: 1) south-west (south Turkmenistan); 2) north and east (the rest of the territory of Central Asia). The cultures in these two regions differ sharply from each other, although there existed long and firm links between them.⁴²

In south Turkmenistan there developed a sedentary agricultural culture which has been named after the first monument discovered at Anau. Excavations at Anau were first conducted by Russian specialist of this area, A.V. Komarov and later continued by an American expedition under the leadership of R. Pampelle.⁴³ Scientific research on monuments of Anau began with the excavations at Namazga-tepe by B.A. Litvinskii in 1949-50.⁴⁴ and later continued by B.A. Kuftin, which confirmed the scheme of periodisation adopted in the literature on the subject.⁴⁵

The excavation conducted over a period of several years by V.M. Masson and his colleagues further provided a rich material. V.M. Masson investigated and summarized the material related to the Anau tribes as an integral part of a wide circle of problems in the history of the Ancient East.⁴⁶

In early Chalcolithic period settlements consisted of separate one-room dwelling houses. In the period of developed Chalcolithic age settlements are surrounded by defence walls; public buildings, with a two faced fire place are also found in these settlements. A new trend towards construction of multi-room buildings appeared. In the later Chalcolithic period the size of the settlements increased on account of multi-room houses built in several blocks.

A characteristic peculiar to the culture of south Turkmenistan in the Chalcolithic epoch which survived until the end of the

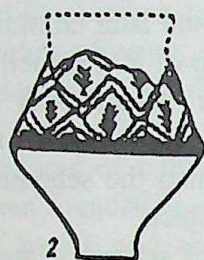
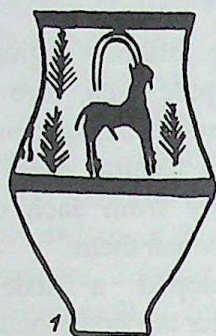
42. See ITN, I, pp. 98-100.

43. "Explorations in Turkestan", 1908.

44. Litvinskii B.A., 1952 b.

45. Kuftin B.A., 1954.

46. Masson V.M., 1956 b; by the same author, 1959, 1960, 1964; "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya, i bronzy", pp. 76-128, 151-178.



Bronze Age is its ceramics with coloured decorative design (the so-called painted pottery).

In the Bronze Age they had small and middle sized settlements (up to 10 hectare area) as well as very large settlements of the type Namazga-Tepe spread over an area of 70 hectares.

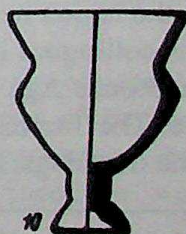
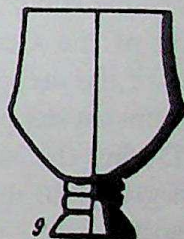
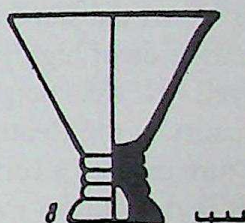
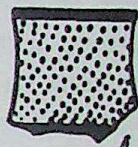
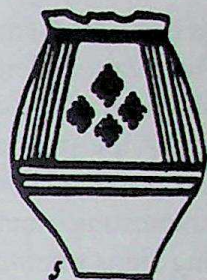
During the period of existence of Namazga-Tepe which arose in the Chalcolithic epoch itself, there accumulated cultural layers of about 34 metres. The main occupation of the residents remained the same as before but the range of agricultural crops had increased. Agricultural implements made of copper and bronze appeared. Copper and bronze implements were now being widely used although a variety of stone implements and artifacts could also be found. A settlement apparently consisted of large residential estates each accommodating a multi-family community. In one of such estates 27 dwelling premises were excavated (there were no less than 50 in all) all of which were interconnected with passages. Houses were usually in rectangular or square forms, though some in irregular forms could also be found. They were built of large rectangular bricks with joints. In the houses there were hearths of several types. In the doorways there were stones for stepping in where the fixed doors rotated on their axis. The walls were carefully plastered sometimes with alabaster. As per available data a portion

**Painted (107) and Plain
(8-10) Ceramics of the
Period of Namazga IV**

of the house had a vaulted ceiling. Thus in the Charcolithic and Bronze Age in the southern Central Asia the housing architecture had attained a high level of development.

The handicraft production had also reached a new stage. There existed workshops for casting copper wares, ranging from needles to seals and daggers. From stone, besides implements, various ornaments and beautiful pottery were also made. The potters acquired a high proficiency in making crockery of different types and sizes from small jugs to large vessels. Exquisite and delicate kitchen crockery was painted with many colours. The textile handicraft was also quite developed.

From a study of the designs on the pottery one can draw several conclusions about the ideology of the inhabitants of Namazga-tepe: besides geometrical pattern, one finds drawings of snakes, birds, snow-leopards and goats etc. The figure of a goat is drawn in a highly realistic style standing between the two trees. Earthen statuettes, made very realistically and depicting men and animals, have also been found. Some of the drawings indicate the existence of relics of a matriarchal society. The earthen model of a house and earthen wheel of a carriage are attributed to the practices of some cult. Remains of human beings are found near the walls of the



houses or under them pointing to the practice of burial.⁴⁷

The other settlement of a proto-urban type has been found at Altyn-tepe. It is considerably smaller in size than the settlement at Namazga-tepe (the area of Altyn-tepe is 26 hectares). But Altyn-tepe has provided monumental building of the ancient eastern type and interesting materials of other types including statuettes carrying signs reminding of pictographical ones.⁴⁸

A later stage of the bronze period is also represented like Namazga-tepe at other sites in the foothill region of the Kopetdag and in the Merv oasis as well.

In the course of the Bronze Age the more developed and more cultured part of Central Asia was south Turkmenistan. It was a part of the "wide belt of early agricultural communities adjoining the urban civilizations of the ancient East, tribes of Central Asia, Iran, Baluchistan and Afghanistan lying between the two biggest centres of ancient civilizations — the Indus and the region of the two rivers".⁴⁹ At the same time, while experiencing the great influence from the side of highly developed urban centres of the ancient East as well as the neighbouring agricultural tribes of Iran and Afghanistan, the Central Asian (south Turkmenistan) tribes also in their turn exerted a certain influence over them.

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the uninterrupted links of the south Turkmenistan tribes with the tribes of the second region of the Central Asian Bronze Age, which are called the tribes of the steppe circle, as they formed the inseparable part of the Eurasian steppe tribes.

During the latter half of the II and early I millennium B.C. large groups of the steppe tribes entered south Turkmenistan from the north.

In the region near the Aral Sea the expeditions of S.P. Tolstov and his colleagues brought to light a large number of monuments of the Bronze Age. Many of them are related to the Tazabagyab culture. The Tazabagyab people lived in rectangular shaped semi-dug-out dwellings. In the centre of the house there was a big hearth

47. Litvinskii B.A., 1952 b.

48. Masson, V.M., 1967 b.

49. Masson, V.M., 1964, p. 5.

and alongside the walls there were storage pits. The population was engaged in agriculture including irrigated agriculture. Cattle breeding also played a big role in their life. The burial places of these people have also been discovered. A large number of ceramics with designs of pressed in lines or dots in the form of a triangle or broken lines etc. have been unearthed. This ceramic, as M.A. Itina has shown, has a considerable similarity with that of the Andronov culture of western Kazakhstan and the tree-felling culture of the Volga Region.

Besides the Tazabagyab culture, another culture called Suyargan was also spread over the Aral region. Researchers are inclined to think that the form of this culture, to a great extent, is determined by its ties with the tribes belonging to the Anau culture.

Towards the end of the Bronze epoch (end of the II millennium B.C. or the first centuries of the I millennium B.C.) large mausoleums built on the mound of Tagisken, from raw bricks and wooden pillars for the tribal elite in the delta of the Syrdaria river, have been discovered. They were circular in form from outside (diameter upto 15 metres) and rectangular from inside. The mud walls are very large. Inside they were draped by some kind of carpets.⁵⁰

In the lower parts of the Zeravshan River, at the end of the III — first half of the II millennium B.C., settlements of tribes, which the archaeologists call Zamanbabin, were in existence. Zamanbabins lived in small reed houses plastered with mud mixed with straw. They were engaged in agriculture (using caved in plots of land filled with water during floods), cattle breeding (large and small horned cattle and asses) as also fishing and hunting. Among the work implements of that time stone hoes, folding sickles and pounding instruments have been discovered.

The ceramics of these cultures which rose to join the later Keltminar culture, experienced a strong influence of the Anau culture. Here fragments of Anau ceramics, bronze and stone ornaments similar or identical to the ones found in south

50. Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 47-48; Itina M.A., 1962, "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnia i bronzi", pp. 233-238.

Turkmenistan have been unearthed. It cannot be ruled out that here and among the descendants of the Keltminar culture a wave of immigrants flowed from south Turkmenistan. There is another explanation of cultural links (not ethnic) with the region of south Turkmenistan agricultural tribes.

Later (from the middle of II millennium B.C.) the tribes of steppe Bronze epoch started spreading over the Zeravshan valley.⁵¹

On the territory of central and south Turkmenistan the oldest finds from the Bronze Age are copper and bronze articles, including copper axes. One such axe has been found in the village Lori (Penjikent district), another in the village Shar-Shar (Kuibyshev district) and the third in a place near village Arakchin on the river Varzob. All of them go back to the end of the III beginning of II millennium B.C.⁵²

For the period of developed bronze epoch we arrange it into a series of monuments both in north as well as south.

On the right bank of the river Syrdaria, east of Leninabad in the vacant patch of Kairakkum, tens of settlements of the epoch of developed and later Bronze Age were found and studied. Among them there were some tiny as well as considerably large size settlements of 10 hectares. The bulk of these settlements were of the size 0.1-3.0 hectares. These settlements mostly consisted of several houses. In many houses the hearths were in the central row. The length of the average house was 20 metres and width 12-15 metres.

The inhabitants of Kairakkum were generally engaged in cattle breeding. Bones of sheep, goats, cows and horses have been unearthed in the settlements. The grain found in abundance along with grinding instruments for converting it into flour testify to the high development of agriculture.

One of the main occupations of the inhabitants of Kairakkum was the extraction of minerals and metallurgy. In the settlements, one finds a large quantity of bronze slag and stone moulds in two halves for casting pick-axes and axes.

51. Gulyamov Ya. G., Islamov U., Askarov A., 1956; Askarov, A., 1969.

52. Litvinskii B.A., 1961.

The Kairakkum ceramics is similar, though not identical, to the ceramics from Tazabagyab for making decorative designs, stamps of both types, cogged as well as flat, were used.

On the territory of Kairakkum itself, and also in the village Dakhan (Asht district), burial sites for people of the bronze epoch have been found.

The tribes of Kairakkum, in the bronze epoch, formed part of the bigger group of tribes from the steppe bronze who were then settled in some districts of the Fargana Valley. Related tribes lived in the Tashkent oasis and they closed in one the Semirechiye territory with the Andronov tribes of south Kazakhstan. This culture is known as Kairakkum culture. Besides Kairakkum on the territory of north Tajikistan Kairakkumites lived in the district of Shaharistan. The remnants of their culture are contained in the upper layers of the caves of Ak-Tanga.⁵³

In the Fargana Valley there existed, besides the Kairakkum culture, another culture called Chust. The inhabitants of Chust settlement were predominantly agriculturists. For them painted pottery was characteristic.

In south Tajikistan traces of settlements of tribes of steppe bronze have been discovered in the centre of the territory of the state agriculture farm near the city of Kurgan-Tiube. In the valleys of the lower rivers Kizyl-Su, Vaksh and Kafiringan flowing into the river Pyanj a number of graves, from the later bronze epoch in the middle of latter half of the II millennium B.C., have been discovered. The people who have left behind these relics were using splendid ceramics (part of it was made on the potter's wheel) reminiscent of later Anau. Southern and western contacts can be studied with the help of bronze articles of this culture. At the same time burial rites, partly the form of the grave, prevalence of cremation, show the connection with the steppe culture circles. On the basis of the position of the grave, two types can be identified, namely, "Bishkent" and "Vaksh", but their correlation is not yet fully known.⁵⁴ At a close-by place in the Surhan-daria region

53. Litvinskii B.A. *et al*, 1962; summary given in Glaesser G., 1965, pp. 323-329.

54. Litvinskii B.A., 1967 a; Mandelshtam A.M., 1968.

settlements, having similarity with the later Anau ceramics, have been found. Materials excavated at Kuchuk-tepe (studied by L.I. Albaum) and Sapali-tepe (under study by A. Askarov) show that from the end of III millennium to the beginning of II millennium B.C. in the south-east part of Central Asia there appeared communities having highly developed economy of the primitive agriculture type living in fortified settlements in beautifully planned and constructed houses (under the floors of which they buried their dead). Various crafts achieved a high level of development.

In the opinion of B.A. Litvinskii, at the end of III millennium-beginning of II millennium B.C., a sharp expansion of the Anau tribes, which inhabited the eastern and south-eastern territory, took place. On the new land some of them continued the customary way of agricultural life, while others took to cattle breeding and semi-sedentary mode of living where the ecological conditions did not favour agriculture (they left behind the graves of south Tajikistan). The steppe people exercise great influence on their customs and material culture.

Social System

The problem of social system in the bronze epoch has evoked debates among the specialists who evaluate the developments differently and offer conflicting hypothesis.

Attention has been drawn to the viewpoint about a detailed study of the tribes belonging to the Anau culture. In the opinion of V.M. Masson the appearance of multi-room houses was related to the rise of family communes who lived in them. Already on the threshold of IV-III millennium B.C. there takes place a transition of large family matriarchal communes into patriarchal families. As the classics of Marxism-Leninism have shown, in the final analysis, transition from the matriarchy to patriarchy was conditioned by economic reasons, especially the growth of cattle breeding which was taken care of by man. "All surplus came into the hands of man; woman participated in consuming it but had no share in the property. 'Wild' warrior and hunter was content with the second place after woman, 'more meek' shepherd proud of his wealth rose to the first place, pushing woman to the second...

domestic work of women now lost its significance in comparison with the business labour of man."⁵⁵

At the end of the bronze, epoch inequality of property and social differentiation had grown. Grand tombs like the ones in Tagisken were built. Proto-urban life was developing. It is difficult to answer this question with certainty but many early phenomena of this process are beyond dispute.

4. Ethnic Composition of Population of Central Asia in the Bronze Epoch — The Aryan Problem

Indo-Iranian Community — The Aryans

Ethnic processes growing on the territory of Central Asia in the bronze epoch had a great significance not only for the development of Central Asia itself in the subsequent periods but also for the history of several neighbouring countries in the vast space extending from India to south-east Europe.

Difficulties in the study of ethnic history of Central Asia, in the epoch under review, are determined in the first place by the absence of written sources and also by the fact that the archaeological materials available cannot be interpreted in a simple way. Nevertheless information on settling of tribes on the territory of Central Asia and the neighbouring countries, from the beginning of the historical period and comparative historico-linguistic data along with summing up of the ever increasing archaeological material, allows to draw several important and sufficiently definite conclusions in this direction.

Already the first reliably dated written sources, containing information about Central Asia, testify that in the VII-VI centuries B.C. tribes and nationalities belonging to the Iranian ethnic group — Sogdians, Bactrians, Margiani, Khwarezmi, Parthian and various Saka and other tribes resided on whole of its territory.

In the present times, as a result of archaeological excavations and individual finds, scholars possess texts in several Iranian languages spread over the entire territory of Central Asia and the

55. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, T. 21, p. 162.

adjoining regions in the ancient and early mediaeval period. These languages were Bactrian, Sogdian, Khwarezmian and also Khotano-Saka,⁵⁶ belonging to the east Iranian languages and the Parthian language related to the west Iranian languages but having a considerable influence of other east Iranian languages.⁵⁷ In one of the regions of Central Asia and in its adjoining territory, in the first half of the I millennium B.C., the dialect lying in the base of the language of the “Avesta”, a collection of the holy books of the Zoroastrian religion, was quite wide spread.

The Persian language (known in three stages of its development: old Persian, middle Persian and new Persian), the Tajik, Kurd, Baluch, and other west Iranian languages; the Afghan (Pushto), Ossetin, Pamirian and several other east Iranian languages and dialects — all of them belong to the Iranian group of languages. Iranian languages are closely related to the Indian languages or the indo-Aryan⁵⁸ group of languages in which Vedic dialect and Sanskrit and Pali languages besides contemporary languages are included.

Together with the Indo-Aryan languages, the Iranian languages consist of the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch of the indo-European family of languages. The latter also include the Slavic, German, Keltic, Roman, Greek, Armenian and other languages. The closeness of these languages is manifested even now in several moments, but their considerably larger closeness in the ancient times points out to their genetical kinship.

The earliest area of formation, of this family of languages, contemporary scholars identify with all the territory that lies between central Europe and the Balkans in the west and the

56. Its relics have been found in Eastern Turkestan; among the contemporary Iranian languages elements closer to the Khotan language are found only in one of the Pamir languages — Vakhani; See Gertsenberg L.G. 1965, p. 31, and Bailey H.W. 1968, pp. 157-159.

57. On the place of Parthian language among the Iranian languages and borrowing of words in it from east Iranian languages, see: Henning W.B., 1958, pp. 92-97.

58. The term “Indo-Aryan” signify all corresponding languages in India apart from the Indian non-Indo-European languages — the Dravidian and Munda.

expanse of steppe in Eurasia in the East. But this relates to a very distant period of time. Later already in the period of formation of dialects, which were predecessors of the "historical Indo-European languages (such as the Greek, Slavic, German and others), the tribes speaking in these dialects occupied vast territory but they were still in contact with each other.

However, as distinct from the ancestors of other groups of "historical" Indo-European languages and peoples, the predecessors of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages and tribes still constituted in that time on the whole as a single group.⁵⁹

The close relationship or oneness of the ancestors of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes is shown by the closeness of their languages. A study and comparison of the data about various Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages, in the first place, about the ancient-Avestian and old Persian on the one side and the Vedic and the Sanskrit on the other, clearly testify to the common grammatical system and the basic vocabulary stock of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages in the ancient period.

In fact, it is easy, for example, to find a multitude of common words, differing only in respect of some phonetical peculiarities and in general fully corresponding with one another. Thus the word for water in the old Iranian language was *ap*, in old Indian language *ap*; land was *bumi* and *bhumi*; air was *vata* and *vata*; body — *tanu* and *tanu*; hand — *jasta* (or *dasta*) and *hasta*; word for voice — *vachakh* and *vachas*; name — *naman* and *naman*; dress — *vastra* and *vastra*; father — *pitar* and *pitar*, brother — *bratar* and *bhratar*; inside — *antar* and *antar*; two — *dva* and *dva*; four — *chatvar* and *chatvar*; five — *pancha* and *pancha*; seven — *hapta* and *sapta*; eight — *ashta* and *ashta*; ten — *dasha* and *dasha*; twelve — *dvasa* and *dvasa*; hundred — *sata* and *shchta*, etc.

A majority of these words continue to exist in the modern Iranian languages, after undergoing some phonetical changes. Thus, for example, the Tajik language has *ob* for water, *bod* for air, *tan* for body, *dast* for hand, *nom* for name, *padar* for father,

59. See, Ivanov V.V. and Toporov V.A., 1960, p. 12, Grantovsky, E.A. 1970, pp. 346, 350.

barodar for brother, *andar* for inside, *du* for two, *chahor* for four, *panch* for five, *haft* for seven, *sad* for hundred.

In grammar, too, a permanent corresponding similarity can be noticed in the system of declension and conjugation. Thus for *tanu* (body) the old Iranian in the nominative case had *tanush*, in the accusative case — *tanum*, in the instrumental case — *tanva* etc. In the old Indian language the corresponding words were also *tanush*, *tanum*, *tanva* etc. in conjugation of the verb *bar* (bear or carry) (in modern *Tajik burdan* is the base for *bar*) in the old Iranian there existed such forms in the present tense — in the first person in singular form — *barami*, in the second — *barahi*, in the third — *barati*, etc.; in the old Indian language the same verb *bhar* had correspondingly — *bharami*, *bharasi*, *bharati*, etc.⁶⁰

Such facts directly indicate the origin of Indian and Iranian languages from the same source, from one language from which they inherited the basis of their system of grammar and the nucleus of their vocabulary. It can also be shown as the linguists have observed that during the course of their independent development the new Iranian (as also the Indo-Aryan) languages came to differ among themselves more than the old Indian and old Iranian languages.

There was a lot of similarity in religion, mythology and epics of the ancient Indians and Iranians. Direct closeness also marks the meter composition and special lexicon of the literary works of the Iranian and Indian people — the “Avesta” and the “Vedas”. This testifies to the common traditions in the field of religion and epics inherited by them.

A comparison and reconstruction of old Iranian and Vedic religion brings out a uniformity of thinking and common approach of the ancestors of the ancient Iranians and Indo-Aryans. A great similarity marks the rituals and customs of these two peoples, their practice of the cult of fire and sacred intoxicant drink — Iranian *hauma* and Indian *soma* made out of special plants by pressing them for juice (from the verb *zhat*). Great significance was attached in both languages to the magical quality of reciting the mantra.

60. The examples of corresponding character of old Iranian and old Indian languages have been taken from the book: Oranskii I.M., 1960, pp. 44-48.

Many names of gods and heroes were common, which were revered by both the ancient Iranians and Indians and which are sung in their sacred and epic literature. One of the main gods of the ancient Vedic tribes and the Iranians was *Mitra*. To both were known the powerful god of wind and war — *Vayu* and the other one called *Vata*, god *Homa* (Iranian) and *Soma* (Indian) (embodiment of the sacred drink). The Avestian hero and king *Iiama*, son of the sun hero Vivahwanta corresponds to the Vedic *Yama*, son of Vivaswanta, etc.

Both the ancestors of the Indian and Iranian tribes had a common understanding of the “arta” — truth, cosmic order and justice. This understanding determined the important religious and broad ideological notions in general. It was also directly connected with the almighty, with the asura Varuna in the “Rig Veda” and the Ahura-Mazda to the Iranian tribes. *Ahura* was a synonym for Indian *asura* meaning “lord”, “sovereign”.

This cosmic concept is repeated in many ways. Thus, both the Iranian and Indian texts speak of the three planes of the cosmos — the sky, the space between the sky and the earth, and the earth. Each of these spheres was endowed with similar symbols and linked with one and the same gods; first with the high sky deities, second with the gods of air, lightning and war, and the third, usefully linked, with fertility and prosperity.

An analysis of Tajik mythology shows that the direct emotional experience of the time of Indo-Aryan community had been preserved in it. We will limit ourselves to just a few examples. As M.S. Andreyev writes, the myth of father sky and mother earth — “two great parents” — was preserved in both “Rig Veda” and the ideas of the Tajiks. In Yazgulem, particularly, the sky is still called father and the earth mother. This is also testified by division of time into masculine and feminine. Autumn and winter are termed masculine as there is rainfall in that period and spring and summer are feminine as nature gives birth in that period.

In the “Rig Veda” earth and sky are represented as mother and father, as a closely linked pair. Traces of such notions were still preserved among the old Greeks and other peoples so that they can

be considered not just as Indo-Aryan but Indo-European, too. Faith linked with the mountain goat is extremely close to the Tajiks living in the mountainous part and the people of Dard.⁶¹

Other similarities in the fields of economy, way of life, organizations of society and socio-political structure are very important. Comparative data show that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian tribes led an identical form of life with similar forms of sedentary or semi-sedentary way of life and were engaged in cattle breeding and agriculture. It must be observed that agriculture was the permanent branch of economy of the ancient Aryans,⁶² though cattle breeding was moving on to the first plane and possession of cattle was becoming the chief measurement of wealth and prosperity. Many common ancient Iranian and Indian words signifying domestic animals and cultivated plants, implements used in agriculture and cattle breeding and the terms related to that are well-known. For example, Iranian *gau* and Indian *gau* for bull and cow; *aspa* and *aswa* for horse; *ushtra* and *ushtra* for camel; *karshi* and *krshi* for furrow, tillage; *iawa* and *iawa* for grain, etc.

In the "Aryan period" the ancestors of Indian and Iranian tribes knew metallurgy very well. Iranian and Indian languages have preserved common names of metals — Iranian *aiah* and Indian *aia*s — for metal in general or for copper, bronze and later iron, Iranian *zaranya* (or *daranya*) and Indian *hiranya* for gold, *arshata* and *rajata* for silver and others. Many instruments of work had common names (including those made of metals) and weapons (to speak of arrows and others). important data indicating the use in the "Aryan period" of warrior chariots (Iranian *rata*, Indian *ratha*) and the development of horse breeding are found. There existed many similarities in the military organization of the tribes and the character and method of their warfare.

61. Andreyev, M.S., 1927, pp. 77-78; Litvinskii B.A., 1964, pp. 147-150. For the parallel belief in father sky and mother earth see Schroeder L., 1923, pp. 582-583; Gonda J., 1960, pp. 95-99; Campbell L.A., 1968, pp. 152, 156-157; Ogibenin B.L., 1968, p. 13.

62. See Grantovskii, E.A., 1967, pp. 346-347, 377-378.

The organization of society in families, clans and tribes, with a detailed similarity of individual institutions, customs and corresponding terminology is found among the two peoples (for example, Iranian *vis* and Indian *vishch* for clan, settlement, community, etc.), a comparison of Iranian and Indian traditions and lexicons shows that the Aryan families and clans had been organized on a patriarchal basis over a long time in the past. An important nucleus of organization of Aryan society, for example, was related to one common clan (based on the male line) originating from one ancestral group, including members of several families, belonging to it and entering alongwith other such groups into larger social units — clan (or community) and tribe (or union of communities). Ancient Iranian and Indian members of such groups were related by closest kinship and analogical property, cult and other rights and duties; there existed common principles of inheritance in these groups and similar customs of initiation into adulthood etc. In India such groups were called “gotras” (*gotra* is from Aryan *gau-tra*); the same term was preserved in the Iranian tradition (middle Persian *gohr*; *gohr-ak* is from ancient Iranian *gau-tra*).⁶³ Social relations were already highly complicated. There were groups of unequal and dependent population.

Population with full rights and freedom was divided into three groups; clergy, military aristocracy and free community men — cattle breeders cum agriculturists. Data about social division into these three groups are reflected already in the “Rig Veda” as also in “Avesta”, beginning with its oldest parts, as well as in the epic tradition of other Iranian tribes including the Scythian and Osetin. Common origin of this Iranian and Indian institution is indicated by detailed coincidence, related to the given triple division of ideological notions. Thus in both Indian and Iranian traditions each of these social groups is associated with one of the planes of the cosmos (clergy — with sky, military aristocracy — with the space between the sky and the earth, which is simultaneously the sphere of the god of war, the community men — with the earth, (sphere of fertility and prosperity), and also with a certain colour (clergy with

63. Perikhanyan A.G., 1968, pp. 28-53.

white, military aristocracy with red, etc.). It may be noted that Indian *varna* and the Iranian *pishtra* both have literally the same meaning “colour”.⁶⁴

Representatives of military aristocracy are in both ancient Iranian and ancient Indian traditions depicted as chariot warriors. This is pointed out by the common Avestian meaning of the given groups *rataishtar* — charioteer literally, “standing on the chariot”, the corresponding Indian *ratheshtha* is found in the enumeration of *varnas* for designation of this group along with the more ordinary *kshatriya-kshatrii* (as also in the Iranian tradition in this meaning were sometimes used the corresponding *kshatriya, kshatra*). Along with the proofs about vast use of military chariot (*rastha*, Iranian *rata*) these data also permit to make some common conclusions of socio-economic character. The very existence of military chariot points out to the use of metallic implements and developed crafts, presence of professional chariot warriors indicates the existence of military aristocracy, which was even though partially free from productive work and consequently had non-labour source of income.⁶⁵ This also signifies the presence of dependent groups of population.

At the head of the Aryan tribes there were leaders or “kings”, originating form among the military aristocracy. For their designation, in the Iranian and Indian traditions, different terms were used including the term coming from ancient Iranian word *khshai* and ancient Indian *kshai* — to rule (from one of such ancient Iranian words as *khshai* is derived the word *shah*, in Tajik *shoh*). The Iranian word *khshatra* and Indian *kshatra* — power, dominance, kingdom — are of the same origin.

The institution of such leaders, later kings, as well as some other systems of rule in ancient Indian and ancient Iranian tribes equally go back to the “Aryan period”.

The closeness and unity of the ancestors of different Indo-Iranian tribes is testified by their common self designation —

64. Dumezil, G., 1930, pp. 109-130; Benveniste E., 1932, pp. 117-134; 1938, pp. 629-650; Grantovskii E.A., 1960; 1970, pp. 158, 208-209, 348; Bongard-Levin G.M., Itin G.F., 1969, pp. 164-166.

65. See Grantovskii E.A., 1970, p. 350.

“Arya”.⁶⁶ This is widely known from both the Indian and Iranian ancient texts as well as from other sources. From the same designation also originates the modern word “Iran” from the ancient Iranian “Aryanam” (country of Aryas); Indian “Aryavarta” (country of Aryas) — northern India or its part between the rivers Yamuna and Ganga, i.e., one of the oldest Aryan centres in India.

Avestian “Aryanam-Vaichakh” (“Aryan Space”) — the legendary homeland of the Iranians; names of a number of Iranian tribes and tribal groups: Midi tribe *arizant* (literally “Aryan tribe”), Sarmat tribe *Arii*, tribal union *alan* (as the self-designation of the Osetin in their Nartov epic-Allon — from the ancient Iranian Ar’yana, etc.⁶⁷

In this manner, data of Indian and Iranian languages testify to their origin from a single common source, systematic and deep-rooted similarity in their religion and culture, social and political organisation, economy and way of life of the Iranian and Indian tribes at the dawn of their written history, their common self-designation point out to the community of the ancestors of the Iranian and Indian tribes in the “Aryan Period”. Indo-Iranian unity is therefore not only a linguistic phenomenon, it was the historical entity existing in a particular period on a unified territory. As a result of economic and social development in this period began the expansion of the Aryan tribes on the other territories which led to their division into the Iranian and the Indo-Aryans.

The Ways of Settlement of Indo-Iranian Tribes and the Central Asian Archaeological Complexes

Where did the Indo-Iranian tribes live before they got separated, when and in what ways the settlement of their ancestors on corresponding territories took place.

66. About interpretation of the initial etymological significance of this word also used later in the general sense for “noble”, “free”, see: Theime P., 1938; Abaev V.I., 1958 a; Mayrhojer, M. 1961, p. 179 ff.

67. See: Abaev B.I., 1958, p. 47.

There exist different opinions on these questions.⁶⁸ But the more prevalent view is that the ancestors of different Indo-Iranian tribes lived, before their settlement somewhere in the regions, near the Black Sea and later in Central Asia and its neighbouring territories. From these territories one group of Indo-Aryans came to India, the other went to Asia Minor where, in the middle of II millennium B.C., traces of their language and culture have been found. Thereafter the Iranian tribes, ancestors of the Midi and Persians, advanced into Western Iran. Such a viewpoint is held by a majority of historians and Iranologists and linguists.⁶⁹ Such an opinion also prevails among Soviet archaeologists. Usually the carriers of Andronov or other steppe cultures of Central Asia in the bronze epoch are also considered among the Aryans and Iranians (A.N. Bernshtam, S.P. Tolstov, M.A. Itina, Iu. A. Zadneprovskii, E.E. Kuzmina, A.M. Mandelshtam and others. According to the other viewpoint the population of agricultural south-west of Central Asia and the neighbouring regions of Iran and Afghanistan was Aryan already since III millennium B.C. or since its second half (S.P. Tolstov, V.M. Masson, I.M. D'iakonov, Iu. V. Gankovskii and others). However, there were other view points as well. Thus it is assumed that the ancestors of Midi, Persians and other western Iranian peoples entered Iran not from the east from Central Asia but from the north through Caucasasia (G. Hiusing, F. Kenig, R. Grishman, E.A. Grantovskii). In this connection it is assumed that in the second millennium B.C. Iranian tribes or a part of them lived in South-East Europe. Accordingly, it is usually considered that the other part of the Iranian tribes lived at that time in Central Asia and the neighbouring northern regions and the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came to India from Central Asia.

However, there is another viewpoint as well according to which the Iranian tribes after arriving in Iran from the Caucasasia

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68. The history of the question of origin of the Iranian and Indian tribes is given in detail in the work of E.A. Grantovskii (1970, Chapter 1, pp. 7-66; see similar bibliographical references to some opinions summed up below.
69. Works of V. Grier, E. Meir, V.V. Barto'ld, A. Koristensen, E. Benvnist, J. Cameron, I.M. D'iakonov, G.A. Melikishvili, I.M. Oranskii, I. Aliev, R. Frai *et al.*

went to Southern priural and other regions of Central Asia (F. Al'thaim, K. Iettmar).

The group of Aryans arriving in Asia Minor in the II millennium B.C. are believed by some to have come through Caucasia. However, in this connection it is often considered that the other Aryan tribes, ancestors of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans, lived together in Central Asia and the neighbouring territories before their settlement in the countries started including the settlement of the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan tribes in India.⁷⁰ Their arrival in India in this case relates to the second half of the later centuries of II millennium B.C., and the "Rigveda" is dated by many specialists to the period 12th and 10th centuries B.C.⁷¹

Some authors proceeding from the assumption about the Caucasian route of the Asia Minor Aryans, assert that just they were the ancestors of the Aryans of India in which direction they proceeded after being driven out from the region of Asia Minor about 12 century B.C.⁷² Simultaneously a proposition was made that archaeological materials testify to the advance of the ancestors of Vedic Aryans into India through Iran from the side of Asia Minor and the Transcaucasia in the last centuries of the II millennium B.C. around 12th and 10th century B.C.

Another completely opposite viewpoint may also be mentioned according to which the Aryan tribes inhabited India since a very remote period going back to the III millennium B.C. or even earlier. This opinion is connected with the view widespread earlier (but adopted now by some Indian scholars) which dated the "Rigveda" to the period prior to the II millennium B.C. This ancient relic of the old Aryan religious literature was finally completed in India within the territorial limits of the Punjab and the upper region of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. Since the

70. Burrow T. 1955, pp. 1-34; Hauschild R., 1962; see also, Ivonov V.V., Toporov V.N., 1960, pp. 10-22.

71. See the work of T. Burrow, R. Haushild and others. R. Haushild is of the view that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans before their arrival in India lived in Central Asia and the neighbouring Afghanistan for a long time together with the ancestors of several Iranian tribes including the "Avestians".

72. See the works of P. Krechmer, V. Brandenshtain et al.

discovery of the Harappa culture in the Indus Valley and the neighbouring areas going back to the second half of the III millennium B.C., to the early centuries of the II millennium B.C., several scholars have been of the opinion that the Aryans already lived in India during that period and that this culture was Aryan.⁷³ Besides this, there exists another view point as well according to which the “Rigveda” appeared prior to the formation of the Harappa culture.⁷⁴

Thus we come across different viewpoints about the early abode of the Aryan tribes, about their period in history and paths of their movement from one country to another. From this it does not follow that there do not exist any dependable bases for resolving the Aryan Problem. On the contrary, the data at the disposal of scholars and the objective conclusions of many researches enable from one side, to reject as unsubstantial several of the theories mentioned above and on the other, to recognise, as fully convincing, some other propositions. New materials, partly obtained as a result of the work of Soviet Archaeologists in Central Asia, allow to draw certain definite conclusions and assumptions.

The opinion that the Aryan tribes lived in India already in the III millennium B.C. and the hypothesis about the Aryan connection of the Harappan culture is quite untenable. The direct kinship of the Indo-Aryan languages with the Iranian language, the affiliation of the Aryan groups as a whole with the Indo-European family of languages, data about intensive and long standing contacts of the carriers of these languages and several other considerations do not permit us to subscribe to the viewpoint that the Aryan tribes had appeared in India earlier than in any case by the beginning of II millennium B.C.⁷⁵ The Harappan culture arose about XXIV-XXII centuries B.C. (or in the middle of the III millennium B.C.) Moreover, as the archaeological data show, it

73. See, for example, the collection: “The Vedic Age”, 1950, p. 194, 216.

74. Sastri K.N., 1956, p. 142.

75. Several Indo-Europeans, Iranists and Indologists including T. Burrow and R. Hauschild think that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan tribes lived in Central Asia along with the ancestors of the Iranians long before 2000 year B.C.

appeared on the basis of development of earlier local cultures of the Indus valley and the neighbouring areas spread over there in the first half and the middle of III millennium B.C.⁷⁶ Hence it has to be acknowledged that the creators of the Harappan culture belonged to the pre-Aryan population of India.

Besides, a number of contemporary scholars are of the definite view that the carriers of the Harappan culture spoke in a language of the Dravidian group or a language close to it. It seems that the pre-Aryan population of the Indus valley and adjoining regions belonged to this group. This is indicated by the strong Dravidian influence on the Aryan languages of India, clearly traceable already in the time of the "Rigveda" and in several other sources.⁷⁷

At present the peoples speaking the Dravidian group of languages are confined mainly to the southern parts of India. But even now in the areas to the west of India, on the territory of Pakistan and its neighbouring areas in the south of Afghanistan, a Dravidian language-speaking ethnic group. "Brahui" has survived.⁷⁸ In the preceding centuries there lived many Dravidian language groups on these territories. During the course of several centuries they, however, gradually assimilated with the Indo-Aryan and Iranian tribes and ethnic groups.

It may also be noted that in the opinion of the Soviet scholars engaged in research on the script of the Harappan culture with the help of computers the language of this script could not be Aryan and belonged to the Dravidian family to a language in the old proto-Dravidian stage of development.⁷⁹ Similar research work has

76. Bongard Levin G.M. and Ilyn G.F., 1969, pp. 88-92, See the literature cited therein.

77. Bloch J., 1934, pp. 321-331, Burrow T. pp. 373-378; Vorobiev-Desiatovskii V.S., 1956, pp. 99-110; Yetepai M.V., 1956; Diakonov I.M., 1967, pp. 108-113; Bongard-Levin G.M. Ilyn G.F., 1969, pp. 105-106 and others.

78. In the opinion of the linguists, the separation of the group from the proto-Dravidian language group which the present day "Brahui" language is related took place not later than IV-III millennium B.C. (See: Andronov M.S., 1965, pp. 13-14.).

79. "Predvaritelnoe Soobshchenie", 1965; "Proto-Indica", 1968.

also been conducted abroad and they have also arrived at conclusions about the language inscribed on the relics of the Harappa culture.⁸⁰

Thus on the basis of different researches one may reach a definite conclusion that the Harappan culture was not Aryan and the Indo-Aryan tribes were still not there in India before the early centuries of the II millennium B.C.

At the same time the opinion that the Indo-Aryan tribes are descendents of the Aryans, about whose language and culture the data is contained in the Asia Minor sources of about middle of the II millennium B.C., has no sound basis to support it. Linguistic and historical conclusions cited in support of this were later rejected in the works of several scholars which showed that these Asia Minor Aryans could not have been the ancestors of the Aryan tribes in India.⁸¹ Similarly, the archaeological arguments supporting the movement of Indo-Aryan tribes from Asia Minor and Transcaucasus in about XII-XI centuries B.C. have also been proved untenable.⁸²

So far as the theory according to which the ancestors of the Midi, Persians and other Western Iranians came to Iran via the Caucasus is concerned, though it still has many supporters, it is impossible to treat it as finally proved. To us it seems more probable that in Iran, as in the case of several other territories, the Iranian tribes moved from Central Asia. Of course, both the routes can be conceded — directly from Central Asia or through the Caucasus.⁸³ But here one must keep in mind that the regions of South-East Europe, from where in this case some West Iranian tribes came to Iran, were a direct extension of the territory in the east including Central Asia inhabited by the Iranian tribes. It is also plausible that this group of West Iranian tribes, if it really moved into Iran through the Caucasus, had come prior to that from

80. Parpola A., Koskeniemi S., Parpola S., Aalto P., 1969.

81. Mayrhofer M., 1966.

82. Deopik D.V., I Merpert N. Ia., 1957; Sankalia N.D., 1963; Grantovskii E.A., 1970, p. 15, 36, 46 and others; also see Diakonov I.M. 1970.

83. Compare similar views of B.A. Litvinskii in the book Litvinskii B.A. and others, 1962, p. 295, Litvinskii B.A. 1967 a, pp. 126-127.

the East through areas to the North of the Caspian Sea⁸⁴, i.e., followed the same route through which the Scythians advanced afterwards.

But in any case, one must exclude, as highly unlikely, the opinion that the Iranian tribes arrived in Central Asia from the territory of Iran. The arguments of the subscriber to this viewpoint are highly untenable.⁸⁵ Realistic data testify that the Iranian tribes were widely settled in Western Iran in the opening centuries of the I millennium B.C. and appeared here not earlier than the very end of the II millennium or the border of II-I millennium B.C.⁸⁶ In Central Asia the Iranian tribes were already living, as the historico-linguistic and archaeological evidences show, in the second half of the II-early I millennium B.C.

The greater part of modern Iranian peoples: Persians, Afghans, Kurds, Baluchis and others live on the Iranian plateau and on the neighbouring territories in the West and East. But in the second millennium B.C. the territory of Western Iran was already populated by the peoples belonging to other ethnic and linguistic groups (Atamits, Lububeys, Kassits and others). In the first centuries of the I millennium B.C. in Western Iran, where events taking place in this epoch are highlighted in the written sources, these ethnic groups gradually gave up their positions to the Iranian tribes moving through the territory of Iran and assimilating the older local population.⁸⁷

In ancient times the sphere of extension of Iranian languages and tribes was much vaster than in the mediaeval era and modern

84. See for example the opinion of B. Brandenshtein, according to whom the Aryan and Iranian tribes lived for a long time on the territory to the east from the Urals and the Caspian; the movement of west Iranian tribes arriving upto Iran through the Caucasus, according to Brandenshtein, from the regions in the north east of the Caspian sea.

85. See their distribution in the book of E.A. Grantovskii, 1970, pp. 21, 39-41, 52, 166-168.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

87. History of this process has been researched in detail (with some differences in evaluation of relative weight of Iranian language tribes among the population of western Iran during the given period) in monographs, Diakonov I.M., 1956; Aliev I., 1960; Grantovski E.A., 1970.

times. It extended from south-eastern Europe to Eastern Turkestan and from near Ural and South Siberia to the south of Iran.

Ancient sources directly testify the movement of group of Iranian language tribes from the east of south-East Europe into the region to the North of Caucasus and the Black Sea. They were the Scythians who had arrived here in the 9th-8th centuries B.C. (after which on the border of 8th-7th centuries B.C. a part of the Scythians passed through the Caucasus into Asia Minor), followed by Sarmato-Alan tribes. The later included the ancestors of one of the important modern Iranian people — Osetins — presently living in the Caucasus. Before moving to the west the centre of the Sarmat tribes, as shown by the written and archaeological sources, was the territories to the north of Aral and the Caspian sea upto the Trans-Urals.

The movement of the Iranian tribes into South-East Europe from the regions to the east of Volga and the Urals has been historically and archaeologically established. In any case, in these regions the Iranian tribes were living before the beginning of the I millennium B.C.

On the territory of Eastern Turkestan, Iranian tribes including the ancestors of the carriers of Khotano-Saks language which is known to us from the available texts could have arrived only from Central Asia and the neighbouring region of Kazakhstan. By third-second centuries B.C. Iranian tribes, perhaps mostly from the Saks group, occupied vast territories of Eastern Turkestan. The available written sources about these territories for the above period testify the fact that the said tribes lived here long before the third century B.C. (alongside other Indo-European tribes — Tokharas) and the expansion of the Turko-Mongol group of tribes from the North-East began much later.

The territory of Central Asia in the VII-VI centuries B.C. was, as stated, above entirely inhabited by Iranian national groups — the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians, Saka tribes group and others. It is on the basis of these national groups, Bactrians and Sogdians, in the first place, that the Tajik people were formed in the early mediaeval period.

During the above mentioned period, Iranian agricultural tribes were undoubtedly long settled on the given territory known by their names. Bactrians-Bactria, Sogdians-Sogdiana, Khwarezmians-Khwarezm, Margianians-Margian, Areyans-Areya (along the river Hari-rud with its centre in the region of Herat on the territory of modern Afghanistan), Parthians-Parthia (the northern part of which was on the territory of southern Turkmenistan and the southern part in the adjacent regions of Iran). The development of Iranian nomadic tribes particularly the Saksians also belongs to the epoch of history of Central Asia preceding the VI century B.C. as directly confirmed by archaeological materials.

The fact that the Iranian tribes lived in Central Asia long before VII-VI centuries B.C. is positively confirmed by the material contained in the Avesta, the early parts of which were composed in Central Asia during the first centuries of the I millennium B.C. The Avesta mentions the Central Asia regions as well as adjacent to them, territories including Sogd, Margiana, Khwarezm, Areya, and others.

The Avesta also preserves the memories about the semi-legendary country named Aryanam-Vaichakh ("the Aryan space"), the early region of inhabitation of Iranian (or Aryan in general) tribes. Several scholars (I. Markvart, E. Benvenist, A. Kristensen, S.P. Tolstov and others) equate this country directly with Khwarezm. But perhaps it is more correct to equate this country not with Khwarezm⁸⁸ (mentioned in Avesta by its own name), but with a larger territory of Central Asia and adjacent regions in the north. Such an opinion was expressed in his time by well-known Russian Orientalist K.I. Inostrantsev and some present Soviet scholars are also of the same opinion.⁸⁹

Existing data about intensive ties between Aryan (in general and later Iranian) and the Finno-Ugor languages shows that the territory of the Aryan (later Iranian) tribes extended in the north upto the forest belt between the Volga region and Western Siberia, i.e., upto the territory where the ties with the Finno-Ugor could be

88. See the literature cited in the works Smirnov K.F., 1964, p. 191; Grantovskii, E.A. 1970, p. 18.

89. Inostrantsev, K.A. 1911, p. 316; Smirnov K.F. 1964, P. 191.

forged. This data also mentions the contacts of the Aryan dialects and tribes with the other Indo-European dialects which continued upto the "Aryan period". This indicates the extension of the territory of the Aryan tribes in the north-west upto the steppes of south-eastern Europe.

At the same time the Iranian or early Aryan tribes inhabited the steppes space to the north-east and to the east of Central Asia. This assumption can be drawn also on the basis of data about the population of this territory in the later period (middle of I millennium B.C.), and archaeological data about the earlier epoch. In Central Asia and the neighbouring northern region, the Iranian tribes lived in the later centuries of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C. which is indicated by the interpretation of materials in the written sources. It signifies that the archaeological monuments spread over these territories, in the given period, belonged to the Iranian tribes. These are the monuments of the Andronov circle (including the wood-felling Andronov culture, Tazabagyab, Kairakkum and other cultures). Similarly, in archaeological features as well as in anthropological forms, cultures of the European populace in the middle of II and beginning of I millennium B.C. were spread further to the East as well including the territories of Eastern Turkestan where particularly Andronov type ceramics have been excavated. Later in the I millennium B.C., in these regions, including the territories of Altai and Eastern Turkestan, there lived the Scythian-Saks tribes. Further more, in Eastern Turkestan there existed two closely linked languages (or dialects) of another group which are called Tokhar and the people speaking them Tokhars (or Pratokhars), as is evident from the texts discovered here.

In the earlier period, they occupied vast territories in the west. About the appearance of Tokhars, in these regions, there exist different opinions among the scholars.⁹⁰ But it is important to note that linguistic data clearly indicate the definite contact of Pratokhar with the eastern Iranian tribes.

90. See ITN, I, pp. 128; Abaev V.I., 1965, pp. 136-139, Grantovskii E.A., 1970, p. 20, 360.

Thus it is evident that the early territory of inhabitation and main centre of expansion of Iranian tribes was Central Asia and the regions adjacent to it in the North. Taking into consideration the close kinship or unity of predecessors of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan tribes it follows that the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans resided approximately on the same territories, before they started their movement towards India. All these assumptions are confirmed by archaeological data and in particular by new materials obtained from the excavations in Central Asia.

We have seen that from the Neolith period in Central Asia, there are two distinct forms of cultural and economic regions. In the south-west of southern Turkmenistan there developed an agriculturist civilization, which attained a high level towards the end of the first centuries of the II millennium B.C., adjacent to similar cultures of Iran and the neighbouring southern regions. On the larger part of Central Asia there were cultures similar to the ones which existed in the north. It was the population of this territory, first of all, the steppe tribes of the Bronze epoch which usually connected with the Aryans and the Iranians.

There exists another opinion according to which, as stated above, the Aryans were the agriculturist people from the South-west of Central Asia before the end of III millennium B.C. This theory arises from the assumption that both, the agriculturist tribes of south-east of Central Asia as well as the steppe, tribes were Aryans. But it would also mean that the various group of Aryan tribes lived under completely different economic and cultural conditions which is in contrast with the available historical and linguistic data about the Aryans.⁹¹ At the same time data about economic and socio-cultural aspect of Indian and Iranian Aryans are fully identical with the materials from the steppe cattle-breeding-cum-land cultivating cultures of the Bronze epoch but they hardly correspond with the data about the land cultivators in the southern Turkmenistan.⁹²

91. Grantovskii E.A. 1970, p. 367.

92. See Ibid; A.M. Mandelshtam expresses himself against the view about the Indo European affiliation of the native population of southern

It is also necessary to take into account that the cultures of southern Turkmenistan from the Neolith epoch upto early Bronze Age were included in the circle of land-tilling cultures existing towards the south in Iran, and from the neighbouring regions of Asia Minor to Afghanistan and India. They are marked by closeness and uniformity in the economic and cultural spheres. There are numerous archaeological evidences which indicate that in that period of later Neolith and early Bronze there existed intensive links between the land cultivators of Turkmenistan and the above mentioned cultures of Iran and neighbouring regions. Facts speak about closeness of the spiritual culture and genetical kinship between the population of southern Turkmenistan and neighbouring regions of Iran and Afghanistan in the south and also about the movement of population on these territories.⁹³

Thus, according to general economic and cultural aspect, probably ethnically as well, agriculturists of southern Turkmenistan in the eneolith and early bronze epoch were linked with the population of Iran, Afghanistan and neighbouring regions. So far as the Aryan tribes are concerned they could not have apparently existed in these countries and on the other side there are clear and unmistakable evidences that on these territories, lived at that time a population belonging to the other ethnic and linguistic group.

On the contrary, cultures of the other larger part of Central Asia were of a uniform type in the economic and cultural aspects. One finds constant contacts with the cultures of the northern regions, i.e., with the territories having close ties with the Indo-Iranian tribes as the historical and linguistic data show. It must also be understood that in the beginning of the Bronze epoch some ties of the ancestors of the Aryans with the Indo European tribes of Europe must have been in tact.

Turkninnstan in III-II Millennium B.C. A.M. Mandelshtam, *Srednyaya epokhu kamnia I bronzy*, pp. 255-256.

93. See for example: Masson V.M., 1957 a; by the same author, 1964; Khlopin I.N., 1966, pp. 125-128; *Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnia i bronzy*, pp. 167-169.

At the same time archaeological data, about the population of the steppe culture of the Bronze epoch in Central Asia and in the regions to the north fully correspond with what we know about the ancestors of the Iranian tribes and Indian Aryans from comparative historical and linguistic materials. Among the steppe tribe of the Bronze epoch, cattle breeding was widely developed, but they were also well acquainted with agriculture. The same type of economy (cattle-breeding-cum-agriculture) with the increasing importance of cattle-breeding and cattle as the main indicator of prosperity and wealth was characteristic as we have seen for the Aryans also. Both the Indo-Iranian tribes and the steppe tribes of the Bronze epoch were horse breeders and horse breeding occupied an important role in the cattle breeding. The level of social development of steppe population in this epoch was also quite high. Sepulchral material has led archaeologists to conclude that in that period the steppe tribes had a patriarchal family and social and property inequality had emerged among them.⁹⁴

The same features were characteristic of the Aryan society, also. Reference has been made above about the very high development of metallurgy among the Indo-Iranian tribes from the Aryan period. This is also corroborated by archaeological finds belonging to the steppe cultures of the Bronze epoch.⁹⁵

In this respect the data obtained by the archaeologists of Tajikistan during excavations in the north of the Republic in Kairakkum directly points to the wide scale local production of metallurgical articles which are important.⁹⁶

Historical and linguistic data testifying to the co-living of the ancestors of the Indian and Iranian Aryans in the period of high development of metallurgy and use of metallic tools can be significant for determining the date upto which the epoch of co-living of the ancestors of the different Indo-Iranian tribes continued. On the basis of archaeological materials from Central Asia and the territories to its north it can be assumed that the

94. See: "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnia i bronzy, See also Grantovskii E.A., 1970, p. 359.

95. See for example, Stagul G., 1969, pp. 56-57, 86.

96. Litvinskii B.A. and others, 1962, pp. 170-231.

ancestors of the Indo-Aryans still lived besides the ancestors of the Iranian tribes within the borders of their ancient homeland at least upto the first centuries of the II millennium B.C. or even before the middle of it.

Approximately, the same period relates to the beginning of the movement of the Aryan tribes from Central Asia to the south, for other reasons as well.

The agriculturists of southern Turkmenistan of the eneolith and early bronze period probably could not have been Aryans.

Also, the agriculturist culture of the south-west of Central Asia, in the period of its high growth, and more than this culture, for the same and other reasons, the proto-urban and urban cultures of north-east Iran (Gissar III and others) and of south Afghanistan (Mundegak IV), as well as of the Indus Valley with its monuments of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa period, etc., can not be considered Aryan.

However, on all these territories important historical changes are confirmed during the second quarter of the II millennium B.C. Old centres, large settlements and cities become desolate. At many places one can find sharp change in ceramics, replacing the old mode on the potter's wheel. These changes are often linked with the movement of new tribes generally assumed to be ethnically Aryans (or Indo-Europeans) coming from Central Asia.⁹⁷

So far there are no direct archaeological evidences pointing to such a movement though it looks quite possible. It can be assumed that the above changes were brought about by internal reasons, also⁹⁸ which caused the later movements of the Aryan tribes on the same territory.

Thus the widespread opinion that the Harappan culture fell as a result of the intrusions of the Aryan tribes into the Indus valley need not be considered conclusive. The materials available make it no less probable the other opinion, according to which the Aryan

97. Stagul G., 1969, pp. 56-57, 86.

98. About corresponding explanations for the agriculturist culture of southern Turkmenistan see "Srednyaya Aziya u epokhu kamnya i bronzy" p. 177; for the urban culture of Indus valley of the Mohinjo-daro and Harappa see: Bongard Levin M. and Ilyn G.F. 1969, pp. 113-115.

tribes appeared in India several centuries later than the fall of the Harappan culture in the Indus valley.⁹⁹

But notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the fact that on the territory of east Iran, south Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and West India the above mentioned changes in history, of the much earlier cultures, developed here did not yet happen until approximately XVIII-XVII centuries B.C.,¹⁰⁰ allows to assume that until the mentioned time active movement of the Aryan tribes on the said territories had not yet begun.

More exact data testifying to their settlement exists already for the middle and second half of II millennium B.C. Rich and varied materials of this time, obtained as a result of excavations of Soviet archaeologists, indicate an epoch of active tribal movements along the entire territory of Central Asia. The steppe tribes closely come to the borders of agriculture zone of south Turkmenistan and also, perhaps, intrude beyond its borders and appear in the settlements. Now we have data directly indicating the extension of the steppe population upto the borders of ancient agricultural oases in south Turkmenistan — on their outskirts were found sepulchers of steppe tribes, typical of northern regions.¹⁰¹

In the same period the movement of tribes towards Afghanistan and India was taking place. In this connection the excavations of sepulchers in southern Tajikistan, in the valleys of rivers Kizil-Su, Vaksh and Kafernigan, are of particular importance.

99. Bongard Levin G.M.; 1962; Bongard Levin G.M.; Ilyn G.F., 1969, pp. 125-128 (these works give a detailed bibliography relating to this problem) for advent of the Aryans in India approximate dates given are: XIV-XIII centuries B.C. or more, generally the second half of the II millennium B.C.

100. According to more probable data the complex Namazga V on the south of Turkmenistan belongs to the border of III-II and first quarter of the II millennium B.C. (See "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnia i bronzy" pp. 151-169); the history of one of the important centres of that time in north east Iran Gissar, continued approximately upto 19th-18th centuries (see Dyson R.H., 1965, pp. 240-242); cities of Harappa culture in the Indus valley existed roughly upto 18th-17th/16th centuries B.C. (see Bongard Levin G.M., 1962; Bongard Levin G.M. and Ilyn G.F., 1969, pp. 94-96.

101. "Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnya i bronzy," pp. 240-243.

Evidence from these sepulchres show that they have been left by the population whose material culture was close to Namazga VI, and whose burial rituals were close to the steppe tribes. Anthropological form of the population, which left their sepulchres, brings it close to the population of southern regions who were the carriers of painted ceramics.

The origin of these tribes cannot be considered fully established, as yet. There are contradictory efforts to establish their genesis and culture. On the basis of their burial rituals and some of the peculiarities of sepulchres, researchers have come out with the thesis about their link with the Aryan tribes and reflection of burial practices and some other rituals characteristic of Vedic Aryans as well as east Iranian tribes.¹⁰² Materials of these southern Tajikistan sepulchres acquire greater interest because graves similar in construction and types of burial rituals have been found by Pakistani and Italian archaeologists in the region of Swat in the north-west Pakistan. The first and earliest group of these sepulchres is dated back to approximately second half of the II millennium B.C.¹⁰³

Thus, from the one side there is no basis to consider the Central Asian tribes of the epoch of eneolith and early bronze as Indo-Aryans and from the other side it is most likely that exactly the Indo-Aryans were Central Asian (and located to their north-west) steppe tribes of the developed and later Bronze epoch. The hypothesis by E.M. Diakonov is in our view quite productive about the expansion of Indo-Iranian languages among agriculturist Anau tribes of Central Asia in the later stage of their development under the influence of different contacts with the steppe tribes. In the process of these contacts ethnic communities known as Indo-Iranian were established. This hypothesis also developed, by other scholars (for example B.A. Litvinskii), explains the archaeological

102. Ibid. pp. 243-259; Mandelshtam A.M., 1968; Litvinskii B.A., 1967 a, pp. 121-127.

103. Litvinskii B.A., 1967 a, p. 122 (a detailed bibliography on the same page) for the latest publications see particularly. Dani A.N., 1967; Stagul G., 1969.

materials better but it has some weak points as well. Only new facts will allow a final solution of this problem.

At the same time the above-mentioned data shows the movement of tribes in the middle and second half of II millennium B.C. from Central Asia to the south, including into areas towards India and into its territory.

However, the expansion of tribes from Central Asia in the southern direction also continued later when the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans were undoubtedly in India.

Archaeologists consider that in the establishment of the southern Turkmenian cultural complex, which existed in the epoch following the period of Namazga VI, the steppe tribes who had expanded here or "conquered" these regions at the beginning of the said epoch, that is, roughly on the border of II and I millennium B.C. or the beginning of I millennium B.C.¹⁰⁴

On the far east of Central Asia in the Pamir also the movements towards south, of the tribes emerging from the steppe population and arriving here in the first place perhaps from the regions of Fargana and neighbouring territories can be noticed. Tribes of such origin appeared on the Pamir in the Bronze period, at the end of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C.

Beginning with the 7th century B.C., on the basis of archaeological materials from the Pamir, one can speak about the tribes of the Scythian Saks group. Archaeological data also support their movement to the borders of India.¹⁰⁵

These conclusions are directly supported by written sources and historico-linguistic data (irrespective of archaeological information) indicating that in the 7th-6th centuries B.C. to the south of the Pamir, to the borders of India (partly inside her territory) and in the regions of eastern Afghanistan, the Iranian tribes belonging to the Saks group (or closely related to them) including the ancestors of the contemporary Afghans and Mundjans intruded and settled here.¹⁰⁶

104. Kuzmina E.E., 1964.

105. Litvinskii B.A., 1960 a; 1969.

106. Grantovskii E.A., 1963, 1963a, Litvinskii B.A., 1967 a, pp. 127-133.

The arrival of these tribes of the eastern Iranian group from the north and from Central Asia is beyond doubt.

Thus we see that archaeological materials as well as historico-linguistic data indicate the settlement of various Aryan groups (in the earliest period largely Indo-Aryan and later Iranian) from Central Asia to the south, towards India, Afghanistan and obviously in the direction of Iran.

All this once again confirms that Central Asia, with the regions adjacent to it, was the main centre of expansion of Indo-Iranian tribes and it was an ancient though not the initial region of their settlement. Those Iranian tribes who were left in Central Asia became the ancestors of the main population of Central Asia from the beginning of the historical epoch up to the early mediaeval period.

Afterwards on the basis of eastern Iranian peoples of Central Asia, first of all the Bactrians, Sogdians and to a lesser extent other ethnic components, the Tajik people was formed.

Chapter 2

Eastern Iranian Tribes of Central Asia at the Dawn of Early Class Society (Ninth to Mid-Sixth Century B.C.)

1. Archaeological Materials of Early Iron Age

Metallurgy of Iron

The picture of social life in Central Asia, at the end of second and beginning of first millennium B.C., can be drawn on the basis of the archaeological materials side by side with some linguistic data as well as the ancient written sources related to the later period.

In the beginning of the first millennium B.C. in Central Asia they began to obtain iron from iron ore. Highlighting the significance of iron in the history of mankind F. Engels wrote: "Iron began to serve man, the latest and the most important of all the raw materials which played a revolutionary role in history. Iron made possible cultivation on large fields, clearing the vast forest for fields; it provided the craftsman such hard and sharp implements which no stone or no metal known at that time could withstand. All this happened not at once; the first iron was often softer than bronze."¹

In mastering the metallurgical process of obtaining iron, man was helped by his acquaintance with the metallurgy of bronze. The smelting of iron was done in raw blown furnaces in which temperature used to reach upto 1300 to 1400 degrees. Such

1. K. Marks i F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 21, p. 163.

working furnaces were discovered in the 20s of the 20th century by M.S. Andreyev in the valley of Vanch.²

To the primitive man the change of disfigured pieces of stone-ore into strong forgable material appeared mysterious and incomprehensible. This led to respectful feelings towards the metallurgists-blacksmiths and superstitious fear of them. Such an attitude persisted till recently among many peoples. In particular, in some areas of the Pamir, blacksmiths were considered as the most respectable and their workshops were regarded as holy places: they were worshipped and after harvest sacrificial rites were performed in their workshops. At the same time in other faiths, blacksmiths were looked upon as representatives of the devil and restrictions were imposed on the use of iron which was a reflection of fear of people for metal.³

Iron implements were spreading very slowly. In the beginning, iron was mainly used for making ornaments. Gradually they started making implements and weapons out of it. The process of making iron implements by forging was much more labour intensive than making bronze articles. The new technique was harnessed slowly, the apparent advantages of the metals, were not comprehended at once. At the very beginning of the early iron age in Central Asia there spread bronze-iron implements and weapons, for example, daggers, which had iron blades and handles partly or fully made of bronze.

In Central Asia the victory of iron age took place quite early. Some other countries, for example, China were lagging behind Central Asia in this respect by several centuries.

Settlements

The relics of the early iron age in Central Asia were discovered and studied more inadequately than the relics of stone and bronze age.

In southern Turkmenia there continued to exist some settlements which appeared as early as in the neolith epoch. Thus, for example, in Anau are found the strata related to the early iron

2. Andreyev M.S., 1926, pp. 8-16.

3. Zarubin I.I., 1926, pp. 126-127.

age. Here iron implements including the oldest in Central Asia iron sickles, the fragments of knives etc. were found.⁴

In the south-west part of Turkmenia, where the Meshkhedi-Misrian plateau is situated, there existed fortified and unfortified settlements belonging to another type of culture, different from Anau. Some of them were very large: for example the square of Izat-Kuli was as large as 50 hectares. Houses were built of large-size raw bricks measuring three-fourth of a metre in length.

Meshkhedi-Misrian valley was irrigated by canals from the Atrek river. Agriculture played a significant role in the life of the inhabitants of the settlements. This is testified not only by irrigation network but also by abundance of grain graters.

There is no doubt that metallic sickles were used; at the same time assembled stone sickles also continued to be used, as shown by discovered silicic sheaths, forming part of these sickles.

In the settlements, pieces of iron slag have also been found. From bronze, weapons were made including the arrow heads and daggers. Ceramics of a very high quality, made on the potter's wheel, is also there. It is without the decorative design.⁵

Lastly, a third (territorial) group of relics was found in south-eastern Turkmenia in the Murghab delta, i.e., in Margean. The largest settlement here was Yaz-depe, thirty-four kilometres north-west of Bairam-Ali. The settlement consists of an almost rectangular citadel and a wider part of the proper settlement. In the given epoch (Yaz-depe continued to exist much later) its entire area was 16 hectares. On the brick platform, which was 8 metre high, was located a large building consisting of an oblong and square premises with a large rectangular hall. It was a whole palace forming the residence of a local ruler.

The main part of the finds from excavations in the settlement of Yaz-depe consists of the ceramics which, unlike the Meshkhedi-Misrian settlement, is mostly made by hand.⁶ The early iron age in southern Tajikistan and Southern Uzbekistan is represented by the

4. Schmidt N. 1908, pp. 156-157.

5. Masson V.M., 1956 a; *Srednyaya Aziya v epokhu kamnia i bronzy M.-L.*, 1966, pp. 179-182.

6. Masson V.M., 1959.

settlements of Kuchuk-Tepe (Surhan Darya Province) Makoni-Mor (Parkhar region, southern Tajikistan) and by some other excavations.

The settlement of Kuchuk-Tepe was situated in Muzrabad steppe. It came into existence in the epoch of the developed bronze and continued to exist till the middle of the first millennium B.C. In the given period there was an oval building in this settlement (in 1962-1964 seventeen buildings were excavated), built from oblong bricks. The building is surrounded by a round defensive wall. Here the smelters, bronze and stone articles, including stone sickles, were found.⁷

Another settlement of this period was discovered by Tajik archaeologists in the lower reaches of Kizil-Su river in the locality of Makoni-Mor. Here there are no well-preserved buildings, only ceramics have been discovered in abundance along with other articles related to the period under study.⁸

Different articles and their entire complexes were discovered in other regions of the Republic. In particular mention may be made of the latest complexes from the Kairakkums; some burial sites in the eastern Pamir can also be related to this period.⁹

2. Central Asian Society In Early Iron Age

"Avesta" as a Historical Source

The most significant historical source on ancient history of Central Asia is Avesta — a collection of religious texts of Zoroastrians. At present, besides a certain number of Zoroastrians in Iran, there are more than one hundred thousand of them in India. They are called Parsis. They have preserved not only the old religion but also the old religious texts.

In the middle of the 18th century Frenchman Anqueil du Perron who had a deep interest in studying this ancient religion traveled to India. From Parsi priests he studied religious rites,

7. Al'baum L.I., 1965, pp. 59-60.

8. Excavations undertaken by B.A. Litvinskii (materials not published)

9. ITN, I, pp. 167-168.

learnt to read ancient religious texts (on par with the Parsi priests), and also bought some manuscripts. On his return to France he published the French translation of Avesta and accompanying texts.¹⁰ Thanks to his scholarly achievements the information about Avesta became accessible to European scholarship. However, the translation made by du Perron was not very precise. Many of the contents were not fully understood or understood incorrectly.

Thanks to the development of comparative linguistics, in the 19th century, established the kinship of the language of Avesta with the well-studied and kinship established which was known from many relics of ancient Indian languages — the Vedic language — in which Rigveda and other ancient relics of literature of India were written, and also with the Sanskrit language.

In this connection decipherment of relics of second known ancient Iranian language — ancient Farsi — further study of post-Avestian Zoroastrian literature, wide use of data from Indo-European comparative linguistics should be noted. Exceptionally important was the study of Middle Iranian and Eastern Iranian languages, of both dead (as Khwarezmian, Sogdian, Khotano-Saks and others) and alive, particularly the Pamir languages. All this considerably facilitated the scientific translation of Avesta.¹¹ Nevertheless, even now in translation of Avesta one is faced with great difficulties and the knowledgeable specialists translate some of its important parts in different ways.¹²

For a long time Avesta, like other Indian and Iranian religious texts and epics has been preserved by oral transmissions (with some exceptions in some changes in pronunciation). This mode of transmission and recitation had an edge for a long time, even after appearance of written form of Avesta — in performance of the cult, teaching etc. as well as in preservation of traditional text.

10. Anqueil du Perron, 1771.

11. Oranskii I.M., 1960.

12. In this regard it is instructive to compare, in particular the interpretations of Avesta by H. Nyberg and E. Herzfeld. On many questions they take diametrically opposite viewpoints. (Nyberg N.S., 1938, Herzfeld E., 1947. For polemical analysis of their views see Henning W.B. 1951).

Before the creation of modern Avestian alphabets (i.e., alphabets in which manuscripts of Avesta have been written), there existed Avestian texts written in obscure Aramei script, which was widely used in Iran and Central Asia from 6th to 5th century B.C. According to Middle Persian Zoroastrian tradition which, however, did not possess reliable information on many questions of early history of Zoroastrianism, collection of books of Avesta already existed during the Achemenid rule and was destroyed at the time of invasion of Alexander of Macedonia. Later Arshakid King Valakhsh (i.e., Vologes, he is usually identified with Vologes I who ruled in the first century B.C.) ordered to collect the remains of the Avesta text and whatever was transmitted orally by the priests.¹³ Contemporary scholars consider the information baseless about Achemenid Avesta and some even doubt the very existence of the Arshakid text of Avesta. But written Avesta obviously already existed in the second half of the Parthian period and certainly at the beginning of the Sasanid period.

On the basis of some Parthian documents from Nisa I.M. Diakonov and V.A. Livshits assume that in the Eastern Parthia in the first century A.D. the written text of Avesta already existed at least in some parts.¹⁴

Later Avesta was written in alphabet specially created for this purpose. It was created on the basis of developed Pehlevian italics (i.e. the script of Middle Persian Zoroastrian books) which represented a development, of one of the forms of the script that arose on the basis of Aramei written language. However, Avestian alphabet has larger number of letters (more than two times) including 14 letters designating vowels.

Texts written in minutised Avestian alphabet, precisely and scrupulously, reproduce traditional pronunciation of the narrator of Avesta in the period of emergence of the given alphabet. At the same time this transmission, of course with some peculiarities, (mostly depending on ancient peculiarities of the dialects), on the

13. Thereafter in conformity with the same traditions scattered Avestian texts were brought together during the rule of Ardashir I and Shapur I (Widengren G., 1965, pp. 246-247).

14. Diakonov I.M., Livshits V.A., 1966, pp. 153-157.

whole fully reflects the character of the ancient Iranian language which was spoken during the period of the emergence of the Avestian texts. Avestian alphabet was apparently created in the 6th century most probably during the reign of Khosrov I (531-579).¹⁵

The texts of Avesta which are available to us go back to this manuscript, written in the late Sasanid period. Early surviving manuscripts of the books of Avesta are related to the end of the 13th and 14th centuries. But they also go to the same prototype.

The writing down of Avesta, in its modern alphabet, was done mainly on the basis of oral tradition. The name Avesta comes from the Middle Persian word *apastak* — the basis (or according to other interpretations, direction, prescription, praise, etc.¹⁶) related to the pronunciation of the very text of Avesta.¹⁷ Appendices to the text of the Avesta were named Zend or Zand (Middle Persian Zand-knowledge — teaching), and were thus called as the written text of the Avesta (stated in old alphabet and perhaps originally in the new written text), as well as probably other additions and commentaries of the canon in the Avestian language. But later the designation Zand mostly started accompanying the Middle Persian translation and commentary of Avesta composed during the

15. According to another point of view, reflected in the works of G. Unker and some other scholars, Avestian alphabet was already formed in the fourth century B.C. But, as prominent Russian Iranologist Academician K. Zaleman and later by V. Henning, D. Morgenshtern, G. Beili have asserted, as far back as the 19th century the creation of Avestian alphabet took place not earlier than 6th century (Henning W.B., 1958, p. 52: See also Perikhanian A.G., 1966, pp. 108-109; more detailed list of literature given there.)

16. Henning W.B., 1946, p. 725; ITN I, p. 175; for other interpretations see: Braginskii I.S., 1956, p. 192.

17. The wide practice of oral transmission of sacred text by Zoroastrians was the reason why right upto the mediaval times, the non-Zoroastrian contemporaries often assumed that the followers of Zoroastrianism did not have any sacred books at all. This perhaps is the reason since the period of Arab conquest of the countries of Islam Zoroastrians in contrast to the Christians and the Jews were not considered "the people of the Book" (i.e. the Holy Book) "which was reflected in the legal status of the Zoroastrians in the Islamic world. The significance of oral tradition and transmission, including the preservation of the sacred canon of Avesta, is also pointed out by the evidences of Zoroastrian literature (Windengren G. 1965, pp. 245-259).

Sasanid period (all early manuscripts of Avesta have word for word Middle Persian translation). From here comes the incorrect designation of Avesta — Zand Avesta, and Avestian language as Zand which remained in use for long in the European literature.

In the course of many centuries of its existence collection of Avesta was subjected to codification. Sources mention about collection and putting in order of the Avestian canon during the reign of Arshakid Vologes I, apparently in the first century B.C. during the early Sasanid period in third century, in fourth century during Shapur II when the edition of sacred canon, which was of utmost significance, was produced under the guidance of Aturpat Mikhraspandan, and lastly after Mazdakit movement during the reign of Khusrov I in sixth century (when from the Avesta some texts were taken out which formed part of it in the 4th-5th centuries)

After this last edition, Avesta consisted of 21 books (naska), name and short content of which are known from the Zoroastrian composition of 9th century Denkartu (this resume is prepared on the basis of Middle Persian translation of Avesta and is not based on the Avestian text).¹⁸ The Avesta available to us consists of about one fourth of last Sasanid Avesta. It is, first of all sections most essential, for public worship, the same objects basically correspond with the arrangements of the existing parts of Avesta, books Yasna etc. From among them Videvdat corresponds wholly with one of the books of the old Avesta.

The Avesta available to us consists of books: Yasna — Sacrifice, praying, collection of text accompanying the basic ceremonies; Yashta — reverence, praise, hymns to the gods of the Zoroastrian pantheon; Videvdat — law against the devils (later in text form Vendidad), directions for observance of ritual, cleanliness (also contains a number of religious legal regulations, the fragments of ancient myths and epics etc.; Visprat — all the lords (later less exact Visphered), collection of prayers and liturgical texts, besides that Avesta contains a number of other sections of lesser significance and volume.¹⁹

18. West E.W., 1892.

19. There exist translations of Avesta and parts of it in Russian and West European languages; Kossovich K., 1861; Bertels Ye. E., 1924, pp. 3-11; Braginskii I.S., 1956, pp. 35-37, 46, 69-70, 105-116, 182-187 and others,

Out of the 72 chapters of Yasna 17 are the Gats (songs) of the Prophet Zaratushttra, founder of Zoroastrianism. Seven chapters-Yasna haptahati (Yasna of 7 chapters) are a part of Avesta and are closer to Gats and also the seven chapters of Yasna are more archaic than the language of the rest of the so-called "Younger Avesta" and differs from it in some peculiarities of dialect. Some scholars relate the Avestian language to the western Iranian languages (F. Tedesko, A. Meie), while others consider it as Eastern Iranian language (H. Nuberg, and others).

More correct perhaps, are the views, according to which it holds a special place among the Iranian languages (K Goffman) or else an intermediate place among their Western and Eastern groups (W. Henning). A Number of peculiarities of the Avestian language, including the dialect of Gats, correspond to the eastern Iranian languages. In the "Younger Avesta" is reflected the influence of Iranian languages (including the Western), spread on the territories where the Avestian language was used as a sacred one.

The question of time and place of origin of the different parts of Avesta continues to remain disputable in many aspects.

Based on Zoroastrian tradition about Zaratushttra, the time of his life and the creation of Gats relates to the end of 7th-the first half of 6th century B.C. This is the opinion of scholars who assume that this tradition is based on fully reliable, but other scholars doubt its reliability, they point out that the tradition is attested by evidence from later period and probably has a legendary origin. In any case it is difficult to confidently rely on the authenticity of this data. Though it cannot be ruled out that Zaratushttra really lived at the end of 7th and beginning of 6th century B.C.

According to the Sasanid versions, and the later tradition, Zaratushttra belonged to Atropaten (Azerbaijan) or from the Midisk Rag (mediaeval Rei, close to contemporary Teheran). But these data are now considered to be unreliable; true, the materials of "younger Avesta" indicate the early existence and dominance of the community of the followers of Zaratushttra in Rag; this is,

Bertels Ye. E., 1960, pp. 53-66, 11, Abaev V. I., 1963, pp. 349-350, 367, 370. Darmesteter J. 1892-1893, Wolf F., 1910, Lommel H., 1927, Gershevitch I, 1959, Humbach H., 1959, Deuchesne-Guillemin J., 1963 and others.

however, explained by the fact that the given territory located in the extreme north-east of Midia, was the first of its regions where the teaching of Zaratushttra penetrated from the east.

According to an early tradition Zaratushttra lived in Bactria. This tradition was reflected in the works of Greek author Ktesii (end of 5th and beginning of 4th century B.C.)²⁰. Following this tradition some scholars (J. Multon and others) assumed that Gats were created in Bactria and its language in the ancient times was Avestian (as was believed as long ago in the 19th century by V. Geiger and other scholars). However, other data do not support this opinion and the recently discovered relics of the language of Bactria of the Kushan period render this version unlikely.

J. Darmsteter, V. Jackson and some other scholars and later in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century, A. Hertsfeld and other authors who considered the first Achemenids including Darius as contemporaries of Zaratushttra related the activities of the latter to north-western Iran. But according to the generally accepted opinion the Gats were composed before the formation of the state of the Achemenids and has in its origin no relation with Western Iran.

In the view of contemporary researchers, based first of all on the geographical data of Avesta itself, the Gats and parts of Avesta close to it in time, were composed in one of the regions of Central Asia or in neighbouring territories of north western Afghanistan and north-eastern Iran. The search for concrete solution of this question, different opinions are being expressed. S.P. Tolstov and others point out to the regions of middle and lower flow of the Amu Darya or to Khwarezm itself and in this case reference is made to the opinion of Marquart, E. Benvenist and others, identifying of the mythical homeland of the Iranians and Zoroastrianism mentioned in the Avesta as Aryanamvaichakh (the Aryan space) with Khwarezm, with the regions between Amu Darya and Syr Darya, i.e. in Sogdiana or neighbouring regions (H. Nuberg), near the borders with Central Asian Scythian-Saka land (V.I. Abaev) and with the regions near the coast of the Arab Sea and the lower Syr Darya (G. Videngren); with Margiana, Sogd, and Khwarezm (J. Diushen-Giuiimen), etc.

20. Piankov I.V., 1968.

The wide-spread opinion of W. Henning, K. Barr, I. Gershevich, R. Tsener and others according to which the Gats were composed within the territory of the confederation headed by Khwarezm believed to have existed on the eve of Achemenidian conquest (usually based on the above mentioned traditional data of Zaratushtra) and including also the regions to the south of Khwarezm the possible region of creation of Gats is particularly pointed out to Margiana and Areia (W. Henning and others). Academician V.V. Struve on the basis of other facts viewed Margiana as the probable motherland of Zoroastrianism); much later Avestian texts could be created according to W. Henning in Seistan.²¹

But irrespective of the fact whether such a confederation headed by Khwarezm existed or not this opinion is supported by the data of ancient authors there and is no definite evidence about Zaratushtra's connection with it.

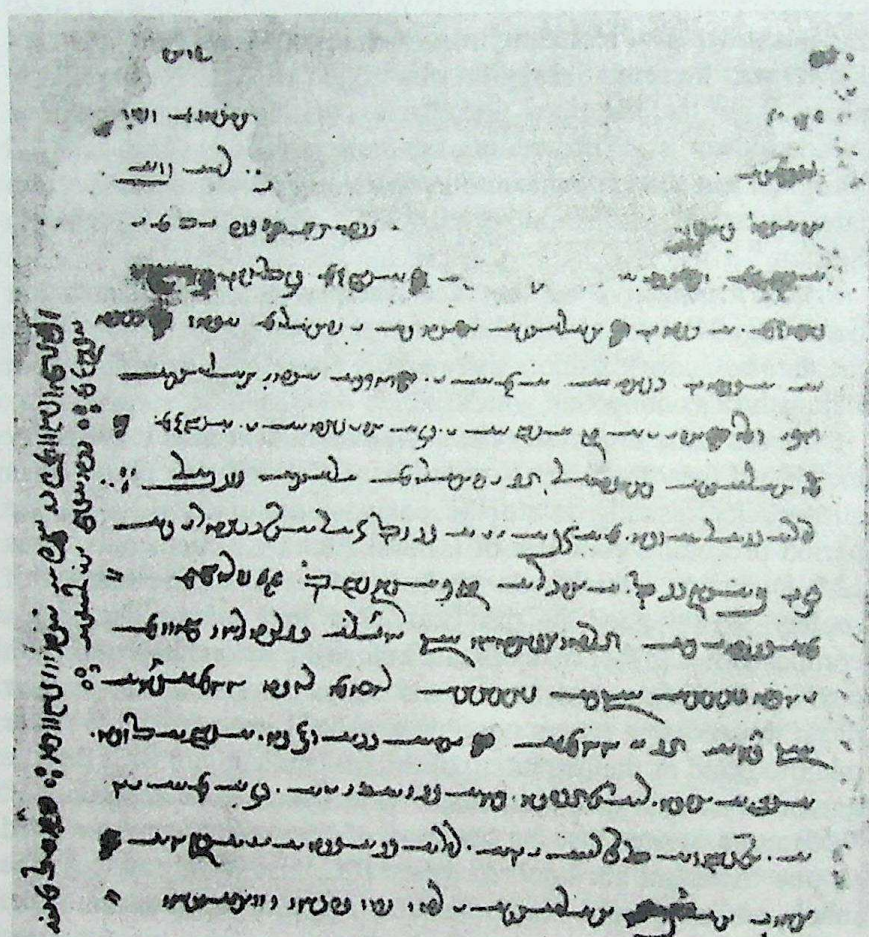
At the same time researchers, who do not consider it necessary to follow the "traditional evidence of Zaratushtra" or deny its authenticity, usually relate the composition of the Gats to the period preceding conquest of Central Asia by Achemenids. Thus I.M. Diakonov²² thinks, on the basis of level of development of society as reflected in the Gats, that they might have been composed not earlier than 6th and before the second half of the 7th century B.C. Eduward Meyer and some other scholars, in their days, thought that it was possible to talk of even around the year one thousand or the beginning of the first millennium B.C. But the author of one of the latest major works on Iranian religions, G. Widengren, writes that the life span of Zaratushtra can be related to one thousand six hundred years B.C. and in any case to the much earlier period than the time of the foundation of the Achemnid empire²³.

According to some scholars (including I.M. Diakonov, G. Widengren and others) the early Avesta was accepted, as long ago as the middle of 6th century B.C., in the east of Midia, in the Rags, from where its teachings, though in the changed form,

21. Henning W.B., 1951, p. 44-45.

22. I.M. Diakonov, 1956, p. 390.

23. Widengren G., 1965, p. 61.



A Page from the Manuscript of Avesta

spread to western Iran. Other researchers relate the penetration of the ideas of the Gats into the West only in the time of the first Achemenids (during the reign of Kir according to V. Khints and during the rule of Darius I as W. Henning and I. Gershevich).

Thus, it follows that the activities of Zaratushtira and the composition of the Gats relate to the period not later than the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century B.C., but we cannot say it with any exactitude. As far as the place of origin of the Gats is concerned, though we cannot point out to some concrete region at this point of time, it can be asserted that it was situated on the territory of Central Asia or on the regions bordering it. This is amply testified by the geographical horizon of the Avesta itself and the number of countries listed in it.

A more detailed list of these countries is contained in the first chapter of the Videvdāt. Here among the "best of regions and countries" created by the Ahura Mazda are mentioned, in particular, Aryanam-Vaichakh, "Gava, habitat of the Sogdian, "Mouru (Merv region) strong and righteous, "Bakhdi (Bactria), the beautiful, with its high flown flags, "Nisaia lying between Mouru and Bakhdi", Haroiva (Herat region) and other regions upto the districts on the Indus and Harahwati (Arakhsii) in the south east, Haitumant in the valley of Helmund in the south, countries of Gurgants and Rag (in the north-east Midia) in the west. Thus, the geographical extent of this Avestian text included all the main historical regions of Central Asia as well as the territories adjacent to it, like Afghanistan and North Eastern Iran. Of course, this text in the form has reached us is related to a much later period than a number of other sections of the Avesta of the period when Zoroastrianism was widely spread. It is believed that at the base of the given extract lay the text mentioning lesser number of countries.

The Avestian hymn, Mitra, relates to a more ancient epoch (Yasht X, Mihir Yasht). It also contains an enumeration of countries. This Yasht is an example of best form of Avestian (or ancient Iranian) poetry. Here a colourful characterization of the countries where victorious military leaders conducted numerous attacks, where high mountains with abundant pastures served those

who care for the cattle, where deep lakes with rising waves stretch, where wide stormy rivers flow — Ishkat and Parut, Herat and Merv, Sogdian Gava and Khwarezm” (translation by V.A. Livshits).²⁴

The territory which is mentioned in this text must be considered as a territory where Zoroastrianism was spread in the first place and in our view one of the herein mentioned countries may be considered as the homeland of the first Avestian text. It may be noted that enumerated here are the regions neighbouring or adjacent to Bactria and partly perhaps included in it before the Achemenid empire. “Videvdat” was one of the countries (if not the first) where Zoroastrianism was spread very early.

In the texts of the “Younger Avesta” reflected the composite teachings of Zaratushtra, which were developed by his successors (“Yasna of seven chapters” composed in the same dialect as Gats and contains many concessions to the prevalent religions), with ideas, rituals and traditions alien to the first form of teaching of the Prophet are represented by the “Younger Avesta”. A number of hymns of Avesta are dedicated to the gods and mythical characters who were worshipped by the Aryans since ancient times but rejected by the Prophet of Gats (Mitra, Hauma and others). This was a concession to the tribal religions and faiths, prevalent on the territory of large states — Achemenid, Parthian and Sasanid, during the existence of which were composed, designed and edited the parts of “Younger Avesta”. But such cults, rituals and instructions were fictionally sanctified in the name of authority of Zaratushtra and with the help of such types of phrases as “Thus spoke Ahura-Mazda to Zaratushtra...” and other editorial devices. Without these insertions, a number of extracts of “Younger Avesta” particularly Yashts, are in their contents (but not in language) older than the Gats.

Thus, Avesta contains the data not only about Zoroastrianism but also about some ancient Iranian faiths and Tribal cults, often going back to the Indo-European community. At the same time Avesta is the most significant epic for the study of Iranian

24. About the location of these rivers see ITN, I, p. 508.

antiquity, culture and mode of life, social and political institutions, epics, etc. of Iranian tribes of Central Asia and Iran.

This process of fusion of the teaching of Zaratushtra with the beliefs of other Iranian faiths had already been accomplished in the middle of the 5th century B.C.

"Yasna of Seven Chapters" is often related to the 6th beginning of 5th century B.C. and the composition of the older Yashts (particularly Mihir Yasht) to the first decades of the 5th Century B.C.²⁵. However, usually it is considered that the Gats were composed in the beginning or in the first half of the 6th century B.C. However, it is possible that they were composed earlier. Later in time sections of Avesta, Yasna of Seven Chapters and early Yashts can be related to much earlier period as well, and can be placed between the hitherto unsettled date of Zaratushtra and the middle of 5th century B.C. The composition of other "Younger Avesta" texts continued even later than the above mentioned period and some of them were composed, perhaps even in the first centuries of the first millennium.

As is evident from the aforesaid, during the use of Avesta as a historical source, one has to keep in mind the existence in it of many layers reflecting the different historical periods and even epochs, and also the influence on the text coming down to us of the views and ideas of the editors and compilers. In this, even the same extracts often represent fusion of information of different times.

Notwithstanding all these limitations, Avesta is the most significant, and in many ways, the only source for the knowledge of the remote history of the Eastern Iranians, i.e., the population of Central Asia, Afghanistan and that part of Iran which is adjacent to Central Asia.

Avesta on Central Asian Society

W. Geiger's work "Eastern Iranian Culture in the Ancient Times"²⁶ is a comprehensive and systematic compendium of information

25. Gershevitch I., 1959.

26. Geiger W., 1882.

from Avesta about the character of the society. However, since the time of its publication in 1882, it has become in many respects outdated. However yet no other similar work unfortunately has appeared in the contemporary period. Besides the new philological-linguistic approach, a later work would have been benefited by a comparative study of the data provided by Avesta through the prism of archaeological discoveries. One can only hope that our Iranologists and archaeologists come out with a necessary work in the near future.

Analysing the character of the Avestian society, researchers have noticed a four layer structure. In the Yasht X, 115 it is stated, "the religious head of the house is called Imania, religious head of the clan Visia, of the tribe Zantuma, of the country — dahiuma, religious super head — Zaratushratema."²⁷

Thus the family was called *nmana*. At the head of this patriarchal family stood *nmanopati* i.e., "the master of the house". The senior woman of the family is called *nmanopatni* (the mistress of the house). Among the Tajiks, particularly in the Pamirs, inspite of thousands of years of the domination of Islam the great role of senior woman in the family has been preserved until our days. This is confirmed by the ethnographic materials collected from different regions of the Pamir.

There is another indirect evidence about the high role of women in ancient Central Asia. As is known in the remote past, the rulers of such Central Asian regions, as Ustrushan and Sogd, carried the title *Afshin*.²⁸ A detailed historico-etymological analysis of this term was conducted by V.I. Abaev. He refuted the old and unconvincing efforts in etymology and equated this term with the word *afsin*, preserved in the Osetin language, meaning "mistress of the house"²⁹. In the opinion of V.I. Abaev it was how the woman-producer must have been called in the Saka-Massagit tribes. From them it must have been borrowed in the neighbouring areas of

27. Gershevitch I., 1959, p. 131, 276, 299.

28. Bartold V.V., 1964 a, p. 497.

29. Abaev V.I., 1959, pp. 112-116. On the functions of the *afsin* among the Osetins see: Kosven M.O., 1961, pp. 8-9.

Central Asia, but now used for the male rulers³⁰. Thus the term signifying among the Osetins, "mistress of the house", gradually began to be used for male rulers in ancient Central Asia.

In the Avestian texts the word *nmania* means member of the family. But, as I. Gershevitch proved, this term also meant deity — the protector of the house which in old Russian beliefs carried the name "domovoi". There were tribal godheads "Visia" etc.³¹ The functions of these deities corresponded with the functions of *fravashis* — angels protectors and the spirits of all beings.³²

In the family were included members with unequal rights — *vira*, *vaisa* and *pariaitar*. *Vira* usually mean "man", "war" but it can also mean "slave". Thus Yasht X, 28 says about Mitra that he gifts the house which he graces with "cattle and multitude of *viras*" and probably slaves. In general, when in Avesta there is any enumeration or comparison mentioning "cattle and *vira*" the latter obviously signifies slaves, *Vaisa* and *pariaitar*, judged on the basis of some tests and were included in the family as junior members.³³

Larger unions than family were called *nafa*, on the paternal lineage. These agnatic groups possessed collective ownership in arable land, pastures and other properties and were bound by mutual guarantee and solidarity.

These groups were sufficiently large and contained upto hundred equal males. Zaratushttra's complaint about the role of these agnatic groups "agnates and their allies rejected me, community was not favourable to me as also the rulers of the countries." (Yasna, 46, I).³⁴

Clan (*vis*) consisted of several agnatic groups, the head of the clan was called *vispati*. *Vis* means, not only clan, but also its — settlement. Initially, obviously, this settlement consisted of related families. Later it gradually started acquiring the features of the rural commune.³⁵

30. Abaev V.I., 1958, pp. 110-111.

31. Gershevich I., 1959, p. 265.

32. Ibid, p. 266; ITN, I, p. 140.

33. Gershevitch I., 1959, p. 87, 182, ITN, I, pp. 141-143.

34. Parikhanyan A.G., 1968, pp. 34-38.

35. ITN, I, 1963, pp. 143-146.

On becoming adult (around 15 years) youths underwent a ceremony for initiation into the cult and the community. In the meeting the agnatic group presented them a belt and a shirt. This act of initiation was looked upon as the "second birth" of a person. Only after this the young person was considered a member of the community with full rights. He could then participate in cult ceremonies, conclude contractual relations and marry, etc.

Many important questions were resolved in the clan council which consisted of the heads of the agnate groups. The council settled problems of internal life both related to production activities and social life, including observance of the cult and dispensation of justice, besides dealing with the questions of mutual relations with other clan collectives.³⁶

Judged on the basis of the text of the Avesta, the society of those times was characterised by deep social and property differences. In the different parts of the Avesta one comes across recollections about individual owners of houses and persons owning large cattle herds. Cattle were considered the main wealth. Of course, the wealth of the aristocracy was not measured in terms of the cattle head owned only but also land and other property.

In the Avesta such social and professional groups as priests, warrior-charioteer, peasant-cattle breeder and (only once) craftsman are mentioned. Some scholars think that this list goes to the period as far back as the Indo-Iranian community and hence must not be taken into account; others (not without some reason) consider that it reflects the existing (in the epoch of appearance of Avesta and later) historical reality and must be kept in mind while trying to reconstruct the society of Avesta.³⁷

Alongwith common members of the commune there were already noblemen aristocrats. One of the terms for noble-aristocrats was *azata* (noble-born), Often he was the head of the *vis* (clan), and of his own family.

Detailed analysis of etymology and evolution of the meaning of word *azata* was made by H.W. Bailey. In the Central Persian-

36. Parikhanyan A.G., 1968, pp. 38-39.

37. Herzfeld E.P. 788ff; D'iakonov I.M., 1956, p. 154; Grantovskii E.A., 1960, pp. 1-2, 10, 13; ITN, I, p. 150.

Pehlevian language it meant "born member of the royal house", "born noble", "born free".³⁸

From here originates the Tajik word "ozod" — "free", unbounded, as also "ozoda", one of the meanings of which is "noble". The other term for aristocrat in the Avesta is *asna*.³⁹ The tribe *zantu* perhaps played a considerably smaller role. At the same time some texts narrate about the councils of "better people". The term for such councils — *hanchamana* — has been preserved in the Tajik word *anchuman* — assembly or congress.

Region and country consisting of several regions is called *dahiu*. It is not easy to explain this term, writes I.M. Diakonov. Often in the oldest parts of Avesta *dahiu* are the mini countries which existed in Midia according to Assyrian sources, i.e. territorial units functioning not as states but as large clan-tribe formations. At the same time this term was used for much larger territories. V.A. Livshits is right in considering *dahiu* as a "concept territorial, geographical, often pointing to the ethnic community, but still not as an administrative unit of an already formed state".

At the helm of the *dahiu* was *dahiupati*. Among others possessing power should be mentioned *sastar* (ruler, sovereign), who perhaps exercised authority over some region from a fortified place.⁴⁰ In the Avesta there is a designation for the union of regions (*dahiusasti*) — the power over the regions.

At the head of such a union was *dahiupati* of all *dahius* lord of all regions; he was not the sole ruler because there was *dahiumam fratemadato*-council of the very important persons of the union of regions. Apparently the power of individual *dah'iupatis* and even of the lord of all regions himself was limited as the council controlled their power.⁴¹

The analysis of the Gats in the socio-economic relations (here the works of V.I. Abaev and I.M. Diakonov are most important)⁴²

38. Bailey H.W., 1959, pp. 95-101; 1960, pp. 953-955.

39. Gershevitch I., 1959, p. 158.

40. H.S. Nuberg, 1938, p. 57, 304; D'iakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 185-189; ITN, I, 1963, pp. 146-147.

41. Gershevitch I., 1959, pp. 296-299.

42. Abaev V.I., 1956; D'iakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 386-396.

shows that they reflect the situation common for societies on the threshold or beginning of formation of the state.

The society of the Gats was suffering from brigandage, constant barbaric inroads of the neighbours and hijacking of cattle. In the Gats there is an appeal for peaceful life, for the existence of prosperous settlements under the power of benevolent rulers. All this required big social changes which proceeded in a very stormy way. It is necessary to keep in mind the fact that "in early period of class society leading position among the dominating class always belonged to the class of aristocracy, leaders, priests etc. standing out already in the midst of the primitive communal system. But the united state can be formed only by overcoming clan traditions and dominance of clan oligarchy powerful by its local communal roots and hence always separatistic."⁴³

Thus the socio-communal relations in Central Asia in the period under study can be characterised as transition from the primitive communal to the class system. Disintegration of the clan commune was taking place and the emergence of agricultural commune was going on. "Separate family is becoming the economic unit of the society", said Engels⁴⁴. At the root of the agricultural commune, in contrast with the clan commune, there were not clan but economic and territorial links. In the history of the people of Central Asia agricultural commune played a big role having survived many centuries "Oriental despotism and domination of nomadic conquerors, following one another, during several millennia could not do anything to these ancient communes"⁴⁵ noted Engels in his work "Anti-Dehuring".

Gradually, in the commune, inequality of property among the different families was growing. Patriarchal slavery was developing. There appeared rich and the poor. The rule of the military leaders was growing, who were becoming the continuing power wielders. Their power was, however, limited by the council of elders and the assembly of the tribe. Unions of tribes were becoming a necessity.

43. D'iakonov I.M., 1956, p. 392.

44. K. Marks i F. Engels, *Soch*, T. 21, p. 164.

45. *Ibid.*, T. 20, p. 166.

As Engels noted, marauding raids further strengthened the role of the military leaders. War aimed at robbery became a permanent profession. Higher military leader and his helpers turned into hereditary aristocracy, "primitive naturally-grown democracy" got transformed into "contemptible aristocracy".⁴⁶

In the beginning of the first millennium B.C. on the basis of different conditions of production in the desert-steppe and oasis-steppe belts were formed two types of economy: nomadic-cattle-raising in steppes and sedentary agricultural in the oases and the river valleys. Thus in the most ancient times there arose, in Central Asia, a peculiarity about which Karl Marx wrote: "Among all Eastern tribes can be traced from the beginning of history common relations between their sedantic part on the one side and the still nomadic on the others".⁴⁷

Problem of Formation of Ancient States

The above analysis of socio-economic situation in Central Asia shows that the country was undergoing transition towards a society of classes. It is quite natural that in some developed regions of Central Asia rise of the first state formations, perhaps like those which in Avesta are called *dah'iustasi*, began to rise.

In the historical sources we come across only scant and mostly unreliable hints about these first state formations.

One such formation was the "Great Khwarezm". Herodotus (III, 117) informs : "There is in Asia a plain surrounded from all sides by a mountain range, and this range has five gorges. Once upon a time this plain belonged to the Khorasmians, and it lies on the frontiers of the very land of the Khorasmians, Girkans, Parthians, Sarangs and Tamans. From the adjacent valley of the mountains originates the great river Akes. In the beginning the river is divided into five branches and irrigates the land of the people named here". This extract from Herodotus led to the appearance of a whole range of literature containing different narrations which included some fantastic interpretations. In reality

46. Ibid., T. 21, p. 168.

47. Ibid., T. 28, p. 214.

there are many difficulties here and a great specialist of historical geography as V.V. Bartol'd declined to concretely examine this information.⁴⁸

A majority of researchers however, do not have such a pessimistic approach towards it. First of all the river Akes, which Herodotus mentions, is identified by nearly all scholars with the river Tejen (in our opinion S.P. Tolstov, who in the face of all evidence to the contrary, both direct and indirect contained in the sources tries to locate river Akes in the region of contemporary Khorezm⁴⁹). Secondly, the information lying scattered in the works of other authors of antiquity is also interesting. Gekatei from Milet, who lived in times earlier than Herodotus (about 500 B.C.), mentions Khorasmians living partly in the plains and partly in the mountains to the east of Parthia. Obviously, this is not contemporary Khorezm but the region somewhere in the area of Herat — Merv.⁵⁰ Taking into consideration all this, I. Marquart not only identified river Akes with the contemporary river Herirud — Tejen. Thanks to him not only the account of Herodotus has become real but his comparison of it, with the ancient Iranian Legend of King Afrasiab, taking many rivers to the lake Hilmend⁵¹. He speculated about the existence of a large union of eastern Iranian tribes — “Great Khorezm”.

The entire geographical context of the information given above confirms that at least the centre of this union was situated not in contemporary Khorezm but much more to its south, probably in the region of Merv or Herat.

The case of ethnic movements leading to the formation of such a union is a different case. There are two theories : according to one, the information of Gekatei and Herodotus suggest the gradual movement of Khorezmians from north to south, the other, on the contrary, tries to convince that the Khorezmians moved from Iran to areas near Aral region. I Marquart advanced the theory that the Avestian *Ar'yanam-Vaichakh* which literally means “Iranian

48. Bartol'd V.V., 1965a, pp. 25-26, 100-101.

49. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, pp. 44-45.

50. About this see Tarn W.W., 1951, pp. 478-79; P'yankov I.V., 1961, p. 100.

51. Marquart I, 1938, p. 9.

(Aryan) space.”⁵² is identical with this “Great Khorezm”. About the latter it is stated that it is situated near the river *Datya* (apparently the Amu Darya) and where winter lasts for ten months. This theory is now accepted by most of the scholars.

For the development of contemporary understanding about “Great Khorezm” the linguists, particularly W.B. Henning, have made a large contribution. Henning compared the language of *Avesta* with the language considered to be Khorezmian, at that time. The quintessence of the conclusions of Henning is that two main dialects of *Avesta* cannot be related either to western or eastern Iranian dialects but they occupy an intermediate position.

In his opinion the *Gats*, the oldest part of *Avesta*, were composed in the region of Merv and Herat, and the later Avestian texts mostly in Sistan. He writes: “One cannot go as far as to say that the linguistic evidences provided by Khorezmian material prove the correctness of our historical construction but it can be said that they (linguistic evidences) agree with it”⁵³.

Thus many questions relating to “Great Khorezm” still remain unclear. Yet the fact of existence of such a large union can not be doubted.

The second such state formation was the ancient Bactrian Kingdom. Ancient Greek author Ktesii has preserved a story about the campaign of the Assyrian King Nin against Bactria. This story narrates about the large population of Bactria, its abundant large cities, the capital of this country — the heavily fortified Baktr, the Bactrian king Oksiart and about his wealth (Diodor, II, 5,3). In the light of contemporary historical critique the Assyrian campaign did not reach Bactria,⁵⁴ that is why the story of Ktesii is considered to be simply a literary fiction — an initiation of the story of Herodotus about the conquest of Lidia by Kir.⁵⁵

Most of the scholars, while rejecting the concrete content of the story of Ktesii, assume that behind it there are legends widespread in Iran. The confirmation of the fact about existence of

52. Ibid., 1901, pp. 155-156. See also Benveniste E., 1934, pp. 265-274.

53. Henning W.B., 1951, pp. 44-45.

54. D'iakonov I.M., 1956, p. 169.

55. P'yankov I.V., 1966, p. 9.

the powerful Bactria is also provided by the information of Herodotus (I., 153) that on the way of the Achaemenid King Kir, after the conquest of Lidia “lay Babylon, Bactrian people, Saks and Egyptians”. It means that Bactria stood in one line with such large states as Egypt and Babylon. Much earlier, W. Geiger expressed the view that ancient Bactria surpassed the power of neighbouring regions and acquired a special place among them.⁵⁶

The territory of this union was apparently much larger than Bactria itself. According to some data in it were included (may be not always) Margiana and Sogd.

The natural wealth of Bactria was well-known beyond its frontiers upto Asia minor. In particular the Badakhshan *lapis lazuli* was valued highly.

In the agricultural regions of Central Asia also lived – besides the above-mentioned Khorezmians and the Bactrians — the Sogdians, Farganians, Margianians and Parthians. Sogd was situated in the valley of rivers Zerafshan and Kashka Daria, the Farganians lived in Fargana valley, Margianians in Merv oasis and Parthians to the north of Kopet Dag mountain.

In valleys and mountains were situated the settlements of Saks tribes. Saki (Saks) were divided into two big confederations. *Saki* — *haumavarga* (“Saki-worshippers of *hauma*”) or *Amiurgi* – the south-eastern group of Saks tribes (historically linked with Bactria and India) and the *Saki-tigrauda* (“Saki with pointed caps”), or *Ortokaribantii* — Massagets — the north-eastern group connected with Khorezm.⁵⁷

Zoroastrianism

It has been mentioned above that *Avesta* is a complicated fusion of diverse elements of different times. Since long, researchers have been working on delineating these elements and bringing out the oldest layers of the religion of the Iranians. These researches have

56. Geiger W., 1881, pp. 66-67.

57. The question of division of Saks tribes is extraordinarily complicated and there are many divergent view points. We have adopted one of them (for latest attempt to determine it. See: Grantovskii E.A., 1963; Litvinskii B.A., 1969.

advanced in a marked way during the last two decades⁵⁸. I Gershevitch suggested three names, instead of one, general name, "Zoroastrism" (religion of the time of Zaratushtra as reflected in the *Gats*); "Zaratushtrianism" (religion reflected in much younger Avestian texts); "Zaratushtritsism" Zoroastrianism (religious doctrine of Sasanid period).⁵⁹ Among Iranian tribes as far back as the border of second — first millennium B.C. there existed certain faiths and notions which later formed part of Zoroastrism in a fully developed form. Here much comes from the period of Indo-Iranian community and a little, even goes back to the epoch of Indo-European community. Mention may be made of the cult of *Mitra*. The deities worshipped by the Iranians were called *Ahuras*. Gradually there appeared the notion of a higher deity Ahura which was called *Mazda* — i.e., the wise.

Notwithstanding the doubts expressed by some scholars (their opinion is cited in the "History of the Tajik People") it can be said with confidence that *Zaratushtra* was a real historical person. He was the composer of the *Gats* in which the personality — a live and fighting man of the preacher is vividly, reflected. Later in the "younger Avesta", *Zaratushtra* appears as a mythical character.

The name of *Zaratushtra* (European form is *Zoroastr*) means the "Camel driver"⁶⁰. He belonged to the clan *Spitama* (from this the Sogdian name *Spitamana*, in the Greek form *Spitamen*). His father's name was Pourushaspa), mother's Dugdova. Zaratushtra belonged to the priestly class. He was not a rich man. He complained that he had very few cattle and serfs and was promised a gift of 10 horses with colts and a camel. Zaratushtra was married and had children.

In the *Gats* Zaratushtra affirms that he received revelation of true faith from the God *Ahura-Mazda* (similar to Mohammad's

58. Duchesne-Guillemin I., 1953; Duchesne Guillemin I., 1962; Zachner R.C., 1961 Widengren G., 1965.

59. Gershevitch I., 1964.

60. Zaratushtra is a Midian form which, in a slightly changed form, appeared in Sasanidian Iran — Zaradusht (from this comes the Tajik form also). The name Zoroastr which is used in European languages, perhaps, goes back through the channel of the Greeks to the reconstructed ancient Persian form *Zara-usht* (Gershevitch I., 1964, p. 28, 38).

meeting and communication with God and revelations received from him, as mentioned in the Koran). Zaratushtra began to propagate his new preachings but did not have much success. He had to flee and at last found the patronage of Kava (King) Vishtaspa who along with his retinue embraced the faith of Zaratushtra. In the *Gats* some other persons are also mentioned who were associates and relatives of Zaratushtra. The teaching of Zaratushtra was aimed against the clan-tribal leaders (or elite) and old priests who were practising bloody sacrifices. Objectively, supporting the more progressive forms of economy and appealing against armed conflicts and barbaric raids aimed at grabbing cattle, Zaratushtra gave a call for defence of sedantic settlements, for establishment of strong power and peaceful life on earth. Rejecting the clan-tribal cults of old deities Zaratushtra worshipped a single god Ahura-Mazda.

Among the basic tracts of the religious system of Zoroastrianism characteristic of the different stages of its development must be mentioned the following : 1) A certain monotheistic tendency which is found in the early forms of Zoroastrianism and reflected in the faith of high God Ahura-Mazda (Later Ormazd, Khurmuzd) ; 2) Dualism, often named as moral or ethical, included conflict of two eternal abstract principles — good and evil or truth and falsehood; at the head of the power of good (associated with truth, justice, light etc.) stood the benevolent God — Ahura-Mazda, at the head of the force of evil (falsehood, darkness, etc.) was the wicked and hostile spirit called Akhra-manyu (in the Avestian writing Angro-mainyu later Akhriman); the fighting between these two forces is the essence of the world process. After the name Ahura-Mazda Zoroastrianism is also called Mazdaism⁶¹, and the followers of it call themselves Mazdayasnians (from Mazdayasna “worshipping Mazda”).

Among the Aryan tribes there existed quite early, long back in the Indo-Iranian period, the idea of two types of gods *daiva* (Indian *deva*, in Iranian later *dev*, *div*) ancient anthropomorphic natural

61. Some Soviet authors call Mazdaism the Central Asian version of ancient Iranian faiths related to Zoroastrianism. In these cases, to avoid confusion, one should speak about Central Asian Mazdaism.

gods, gods in general (Indo-European *deivo*) and *abura* (in Iranian *ahura*, literally “master”, “ruler”) — gods possessing high powers of moral order. In the ancient Indian tradition back in the later hymns of *Rigveda*) *asurs* were hostile to man and later in India this term came to be used only for evil forces and the *devas* were left as proper gods. In Mazdaism a reverse process took place : *devas* became the hostile gods, the demons⁶². In the list of demon — *devas* the Avesta includes such gods as Indra (one of the well-known and venerable gods of the Vedic Indians). *Nahatya* (Indian *Nasatya*) and others. The term *Ahura*, on the contrary, contains divine meaning.

Among the other gods stood out one who was considered the god of the sky, who was omniscient. Along with the epithet *Mazd* (wise) his name *Ahura* forms the name of a higher god *Ahura-Mazda* (wise ruler). These changes were directly linked to conversion to another faith in which a big role was played by ethical moments. *Ahura-Mazda* (as well as ancient Indian *asura Varuna*) is directly linked with one of the main religious concepts: *arta* (in the Avesta *asha*) — truth, justice, law and order, and divine justice. In the *Gats* of *Zaratushtra* *Ahura-Mazda* is not only the higher god as he not only rejects the other gods but also substitutes them.

In the realm of rituals *Zaratushtra* rejected the bloody sacrifices devoted to them and the libation of the holy drink *haoma* (Indian *soma*), recognising only the fire worship. Fire was considered as the expression or symbol of divine justice ‘*arta*’. The cult and temples of fire later became one of the main characteristic features of Zoroastrianism. Prohibition of large scale bloody sacrifices of cattle is also directly linked to social content of the teaching of *Zaratushtra*.

Simultaneously, with monotheistic tendency developing amongst the group of Iranian tribes and in relation to the rise of the god *Ahura* later *Ahura-Mazda*, there also spread dualistic notion. According to them everything in the world — the gods, phenomena of nature and social life, animals, etc. — is related to good or evil

62. In Central Asia before mediaeval times, as stated in written sources and among Pamirians and Yagnobians until recently, the notions of *deva* as good creature not only in male but female form also have been preserved.

notions, to the world of truth (*arta*) or to the world of falsehood (*drauga*, Avestian *drug*, *druj*), to the embodiment of injustice, everything evil and morally dirty. These notions were deepened and generalised in the teaching of Zaratushtra combining monotheism in the realm of noble beginning with the consistent pursuit of dualism, concentrating all the existing earlier dualistic notions to one common world conflict in which active role has been assigned to man.

The role of man in Zoroastrianism is defined by the concept of free choice, enshrined in the *Gats* of Zaratushtra. Man chooses between the good and evil and his actions have a determining significance in the course of world struggle between good and evil. The path of good is indicated by the true faith brought on the earth by the Prophet — Zaratushtra. The collective efforts of his followers should lead to the ultimate victory of the good. Zaratushtra predicted the advent of the new world which would mark the triumph of the forces of good over the forces of evil. After the test by fire those who choose the good would be in the kingdom of justice founded by Ahura-Mazda. The final victory of the forces of good was foreseen in the near future. But later it was stated that after the birth of Zaratushtra and the emergence of his faith as an instrument of struggle against the evil three thousand years would pass before the saviours Saoshiant appear (this term is used in the *Gats*), the seed of Zaratushtra, wonderfully preserved in the bed of a lake would be born and under him the final victory of the good over the evil would take place.

The main duty of the man, assisting the noble beginning of the fight with the evil, was considered first of all and not the performance of prayer rituals which were not given primary importance by Zoroastrianism, in particular, in the early stages of its development, but the just the way of life prescribed by the true faith; the “noble thought”, “noble words”, “noble deed”, these are the things through which man fights the evil. The increase of material prosperity was one of the main instruments of struggle with the forces of evil (which were created by Ahura-Mazda or the sacred spirit for man) i.e., work in agriculture and cattle breeding)⁶³.

63. See for general discussion Duchesne-Guillemin I, 1962, pp. 71-223; Widengren G., 1965, pp. 7-110 (bibliographical list as well).

In the *Gats* along with Ahura-Mazda there are two twin spirits, one of which embodies truth and the other falsehood. In the section of Avesta, known as "Yasna of Seven Chapters", there are many polytheistic motives where they worshipped not only as Ahura-Mazda and his manifestations but also as fire, water, wind, earth, air and the spirit of animals etc.⁶⁴

The most venerable gods of the Avestian pantheon were the god of sun and light, Mitra — the most powerful patron of fighters, gifting them victory, as well as the goddess of fertility and waters Ardivisura Anahita in whose cult some features going back to the matriarchal epoch were preserved⁶⁵.

Among the rituals of Zoroastrianism, more specific is the burial ritual (as practised by the Parsis in India). The corpse of the dead is placed on a special platform (*dahma*) for the birds to eat. The bones cleaned of meat in this manner are preserved in special vessels — *ossuarias*.

This ritual, the form of which by itself was much older than Zoroastrianism, was directly linked with its basic tenets and became possibly the sole criterion for the devotees of Zoroastrianism. The contrast between life and death was the main feature in the system of opposites in the dualistic concept of Zoroastrianism. Life as a noble beginning was considered as a gift and death as the evil created by Akhriman. Because of this the body of the devotee, which was the noble beginning during his life after death becomes profane, the manifestation of evil beginning. At the same time the worships of elements, fire, earth, water, categorically forbade their pollution. Hence burial and cremation practised earlier became unacceptable⁶⁶.

The teaching of Zaratushtira prescribed, as sacred obligation, for his followers to engage in agriculture and cattle breeding — considering it as a deed of piety.

64. Gershevitch I., 1964, pp. 12-15.

65. Ibid., 1959, (also gives a vast list of literature); Ringbom L.I., 1957 (useful but not adequate information).

66. Innostrantsev K.A., 1909; Staviskii B. Ia, 1952; Herzfeld E.), 1947, II, pp. 747-748, Himbach H., 1961; Rapoport Iu. A., 1971.

In the third chapter of Videvdat it is stated that the best place, liked by God, is "where the pious man constructs the house in which there are fire, milk, wife, children and cattle, in such a house flourish cattle... and the dog, wife and kid, fire and the well-being...when the pious man produces more bread, grass, plants and eatable fruits, where he irrigates dry soil or dries up highly moist soil...rears up large and small cattle...where large and small cattle produces dung" (Fargard 2-6; translation by I.S. Braginskii).

Here there is a direct appeal to develop settled cattle-breeding and most importantly farming.

Further in the same chapter it is stated: "He who tills the land... by left and right hand, by right and left hand, gives profit to it. It is like the loving husband gifting a son or other good thing to his beloved wife lying on soft bed...thus the land is telling him: O'thou man tilling me by left hand and right hand, by right hand and left hand... I will be giving birth without any fatigue producing food provision and abundant harvest...he who sows grain sows righteousness"(Fargard 25-26, 31 : translation by I.S. Braginskii).

In the *Gats* great attention is paid to the cattle-breeding as well. Addressing Ahura-Mazda the Prophet says: "Thou who has created for us the cattle, the source of well-being" (47, 3). Here we find a large number of excerpts about cattle, protection of cattle and peaceful cattle breeders from the raids of the barbarians. "Glorifying Ahura-Mazda and feeding the cattle – this we consider the best thing" (35, 7)⁶⁷.

It is in the oldest section of Avesta that appeals for agricultural labour, popular myths and fantasies are contained. However, Avesta on the whole, as the work of a later period when in conditions of a class society the teaching of Zaratushra (Zoroastrianism) was canonised, became a state religion idolising the power of the king and consecrating the aristocratic domination and priesthood over the toiling masses.

For study of the ancient history of the ancestors of the Tajik people the ethnographic data is important. In the pre-revolutionary life of the Tajiks, particularly in the mountains, many remnants of the primitive communal relations had survived. For example, there are large common houses in the settlement of Darwaza and

67. Abaev V.I., 1956, pp. 23-56.

Karategin. From among the many remnants of fire worship the more widespread were the "fire houses" — the places for gatherings of male population of the village around the fire during which collective feasts were organised. Among the ancient tales about the epic heroes the most popular were about Rustum. While starting work the Tajik highlander used to say: "Help Rustum!" Rainbow is called the "bow of Rustum". A number of customs testify to the preservation of the remnants of matriarchal society. Many archaic features are preserved in the ceramics and also in the art of building.

PART II

The Ancestors of the Tajiks in the Epoch of
Development of Slave — Owning Relations

Chapter 3

Central Asia in the State of Achaemenids

1. Political History of Central Asia in 6th — Beginning of 5th Century B.C.

Emergence of the Achaemenid State

Establishment of the first state formations in Iran is related to the 9th-7th centuries B.C.¹ In the 9th-7th centuries most of the regions of western Iran were included in Assyrian and Urart empires (to Assyria belonged the regions which later became the centre of the Median Kingdom; Persian tribes of south-western Iran which were headed by the Achaemenids and subjected earlier to kings of Elam also recognized their dependence on Assyria around 640 B.C.). In the 8th-7th centuries sizeable territories of north-western Iran were united under the power of the Median Kingdom.

In the first stages of their expansion on the territory of Iran (from the end of 2nd and beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.) tribes speaking Iranian languages had not yet reached that level of socio-political development which would have allowed the creation of the unions of states.

Only later, on the basis of these tribes and the local population assimilated by them in some of the regions of Iran there took place consolidation of Iranian-speaking element as a result of which in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. Median Kingdom emerged. It was established initially on the territory of Ekbatan

1. With the exception of south-western regions of Iran where, as far back as the second half of the third millennium B.C., appeared the Elam state.

(Hamadan) and several neighbouring regions. Thereafter this kingdom incorporated most of the regions of Iran (including Fars), territories of Mane and Urart states, some regions belonging earlier to Assyria, the eastern part of Asia Minor;² on the east upto the extent of Midia came close to the borders of Central Asia.

In the middle of the 6th century B.C. the Achaemenid State replaced the power of the Midia. The establishment of the world power of the Achaemenids completed the processes manifesting the tendency towards union into one state of the different ancient eastern countries and peoples which was characteristic of the preceding epoch (9th-6th centuries B.C.). It may be compared to the consistent expansion of the Assyrian, Urartian, Midian and new Babylonian states which had behind it certain economic and social reasons.

The founder of the Achaemenid power was king the Kir II of the group of Persian tribes who in the beginning was a vassal of the Midia. As a result of a long and difficult struggle he not only freed himself of this dependence but in 550 B.C. fully liquidated and subjugated Midia to his rule. He acquired the title of the King of Midia while preserving his old title of King of Persia.³

Kir II conducted many wars. In the beginning he subjugated the possession, included in the composition of the Midia Kingdom. Later in 547 or 546 B.C. Lidia was annexed. The latter was the richest country in Asia Minor and was one of the Greek states of that region.⁴

The conquests of Kir II in Central Asia

The strengthening of the Achaemenid state was the result of a sharp rise in the material and human resources brought about by

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2. The best research on the history of Midia is the book by I.M. D'iakonov (1956); see also Aliev I., 1960. Among the foreign works mention may be made of Cameron G., 1936.
 3. D'iakonov I.M., 1956, pp. 417-422.
 4. For a detailed history of Iran in this period see refer to Dandamaev M.A., 1963a. For a detailed presentation of political history Olmstead A.F., 1959. Our understanding of the socio-economic history of the Achaemenid state is based on a detailed discussion contained in the specialised works. (Gafurov, B.G. 1966, 1971)

the activities of Kir II. All this created the pre-requisites for his aspirations, directed towards founding of a huge state including all the countries of Asia.

According to Herodotus (I, 153), after the conquest of Lidia, "there lay along the path before Kir II — Babylon, the Bactrian people, the Sakas and the Egyptians. The war against them was personally directed by him while he decided to leave the expedition against the Ionians to his commanders". Such plans of Kir II were not accidental : he probably possessed information about the power and preparedness for war of the Central Asian peoples and hence could not entrust this task to even the commanders closest to him.

We know almost nothing concretely as to how the Central Asian conquest proceeded. However, it was accompanied by great ruthlessness. As Herodotus informs (I, 177) : "Lower Asia was depopulated by Garpag and the upper by Kir himself, subjugating one people after another without sparing any one of them". Babybonian historian of the 3rd century, B.C. Beross, also informs that Kir attacked Babylon after subjugating the whole of Asia. All this refutes the story of Nicholas Damasskii (Istoria, 75) that after the victories of Kir II over Midia he was approached by satrap of Girkan with the expression of his submissiveness. "Thereafter Parthian, Saks, Bactrian and other people's satraps were coming one after another trying to be first". All this is anachronistic because the Bactrians and the Saks were not incorporated in the Midian Kingdom and Kir II had to conquer them.

Moreover, this story is not true in relation to the other regions as well. More reliable information appears to be that of Trog in the narration of Justin (I, 72) : "The states which were tributaries of the Midians, considering that with change of power their status had also changed, declared themselves independent of Kir. This became the reason for Kir to launch his numerous wars".

Some details about Kir's conquests in Central Asia are given by Ktesii (fr. 9/29). He informs that Kir "fought with the Bactrians but the battle was indecisive". Only after the Bactrians learnt about the strong internal political situation in the Achaemenid state they "voluntarily" submitted to Kir.

The information given by the Behistun⁵ inscription of Darius has a special significance. From this inscription we can derive indisputable data about the composition of the Achaemenid state, at the time of accession of Darius I. In this connection it should be kept in mind that the interval between the death of Kir II and the accession of Darius I., i.e. during 530-522 B.C., the Achaemenids were preoccupied with the conquests in Egypt and their internal problems and were not engaged in incorporation of the new regions of Central Asia.⁶ In the first column of the Behistun inscription Darius I states : "These are the countries which I received with the grace of Ahura-Mazda", and enumerates among others Parthia, Areia, Khorezm, Bactria, Sogdiana, and also regions in south Afghanistan and north-western India : Gandhara, Sattagidia, Arahosia, between the first two is mentioned "Saka" (it refers to perhaps Sakas-haumavarga). Ethnic sources have preserved an information (Plinii, VI, 23), that Kir destroyed Kapisa (usually researchers locate it in Bagram near Kabul).⁷

Summing up all scant data available to us it may be assumed that Kir II succeeded in conquering Parthia, Bactria, Khorezm, Sogd and some part of Sakas; probably the Sakas-haumavarga.⁸ As to how far in the north-east the frontiers of the Achaemenid state were spread nothing is practically known. Opinions mentioned earlier that this state extended upto the Fargana valley, based on references in later sources about the city of Kiropol-Kireskata supposedly built by Kir were shaky, to some extent, in the light of linguistic analysis. Opinion was expressed that the city in fact was called Kuru (sh)-Kata where the first part of the word could be a tribal name and the Greeks changed it to Kireskata.⁹

5. For the inscription see; Kent R.G., 1953, pp. 116-134 (text and English translation); full Russian translation : Dandamaev M.A., 1963 a, pp. 262-270.

6. Dandamaev M.A., 1963a, pp. 116.

7. Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, pp. 58.

8. ITN, I, pp. 190-192.

9. Benveniste E., 1935-1943, 1947, pp. 163-164. Also see detailed analysis of V.A. Litvinskii : ITN, I, p-528. Latest linguistic analysis : Eilers W., 1964, pp. 180-236 (important for mainly *areal*); Abaev V.I., 1967, pp. 286-291 (convincing etymology).

Kir and Tomiris. Rout of Achaemenid Troops

In 539 B.C. Kir II conquered Babylon and was about to conquer Egypt as well. But the situation on the north-eastern borders of the state, i.e., in Central Asia did not allow him to launch his Egyptian expedition. He led a new campaign in Central Asia in order to secure his rear areas. Kir II, who personally led his troops in this campaign, intended to crush the powerful Central Asian nomads.

Information about this campaign has been preserved in the works of many authors of antiquity but the events are narrated by them in different ways. One of the versions is that Kir after crossing Araks intruded into the land of the Massagets, who were led by Queen Tomiris. According to the second version, on the whole not much different from the first, Kir fought with the Scythians who were under the command of Tomiris. The third version is that Kir fought with Derbiks. And there is also a story that Kir fought in the valleys of Dai".¹⁰

Detailed story of this expedition and its results is contained in the works of Herodotus, Trog-Justin and other authors. Here we cite from the account given by Trog-Justin : "Conquering Asia and bringing under his rule the entire East, Kir waged war against the Scythians. The Scythians had at that time Queen Tomiris. She was not scared of attack by the enemy as one normally expected of a women. Although Tomoris could have intervened before the enemy crossed over the Oks, she gave them an opportunity to do so thinking that it would be easier for her to fight on the territory of her kingdom and difficult for the enemy to flee back through the river lying on their way. After crossing the river with his troops Kir penetrated a little deeper into Seythia and pitched his camp. Next day he pretended to flee, as if frightened. In the camp he left a huge quantity of food and wine, enough for a big feast. When the Queen was told about this she sent his young son with one-third of her force to chase the robbers. The youthful prince inexperienced in warfare, upon entering the camp of Kir, drank heavily the wine left behind, forgetting about the enemy he was sent to chase. Thus the Scythians were defeated by drinks much before arms. Learning

10. For historical analysis see. P'yankov I.V., 1964.

about this Kir returned during the night and swooped down upon the hapless enemies and killed the Scythians along with the son of the Queen, who were engaged in revelry in the camp. Having lost such a large number of troops and her only son, which was a harder blow, Tomiris did not drown her sorrow in tears but decided to console herself by avenging the treachery of the enemies who were celebrating their recent victory by responding through identical treachery. She pretended not to rely on her strength after the blow suffered by her and while fleeing lured Kir to a gorge where she had planned before and to ambush him in the mountains. There she destroyed 200 thousand Persians along with their King. This victory was all the more remarkable as no one was left to inform the Persians about such an awful defeat. The Queen ordered to throw the severed head of Kir into a vessel full of human blood and condemned his cruelty in these words : “Let you be satiated with blood which you always thirsted and never fully satisfied” (Justin, 1,8, 1-13).

The account of Herodotus is still more detailed (1, 205-214). From this we learn that Kir, in the beginning, proposed through a special messenger that the Queen may become his wife. “But Tomoris understood”, writes Herodotus, “that Kir was not asking to marry her but the Kingdom of the Massagets and rejected the proposal” (1, 205). The son of Tomiris was named Spargapis (1, 211). He was not killed but he killed himself in custody (1, 213). About the battle between the Massaget and Achaemenidian troops there is the following account :

“...this battle, the fiercest of all the battle, in which the barbarians ever took part. It proceeded as I heard in this way : in the beginning both the troops attacked each other with arrows from a considerable distance and when the arrows were exhausted they grappled with daggers and spears. The troops held on for long against each other neither side was fleeing. At last the Massagets won. Most of the Persian troops fell dead at the battleground and Kir himself was killed” (Herodotus, 1, 214). Strabo (XI, 8,5) adds one substantial detail to this account that during this battle the nomad enemies of Kir II (he calls them Saks) twice destroyed the Achaemenidian troops.

It is difficult to solve the problem of concrete direction of the campaign of Kir II. Some are of the opinion that it was Syr Daria, Amu Daria or Uzboi. The last seems to be more probable.¹¹

The defeat of Kir by the Massagets at the end of July and the beginning of August 530 B.C. is the first exactly fixed date in the history of the peoples of Central Asia.¹²

As M.M. D'yakonov writes, "Kir was one of the most outstanding personalities of ancient history".¹³ This is undoubtedly a correct observation because in his activities Kir manifested many progressive tendencies of his times. Behind him there were the great resources of the vast Achaemenid Kingdom which extended from Asia Minor to the Indus valley. Nevertheless in his fight with the Central Asian nomads he not only suffered an awful defeat but was himself killed. But this is not just the case of vicissitudes of the capricious military success. While defending its freedom and independence a people mobilises all its forces in the struggle against the enemy. There are numerous examples of it both in the history of Central Asia and world history, as a whole.

Uprisings against Achaemenids during the reign of Darius I

The victory of Central Asian nomads over Kir II played a notable role in the destiny of the Achaemenid state. Not only the powerful founder of the Achaemenid state was killed but his son and successor Kambiz had to postpone their long planned campaign against Egypt.¹⁴ Later Kambiz carried out this campaign. Egypt was conquered and subjected to the power of the Achaemenids.

11. This date is established on the basis of Babylonian documents : the last document of Kir II is dated 12 August 530 B.C., and the first document in the name Kambiz-31 August 530 B.C. Thus the news about the death of Kir reached Babylon in the middle or second half of the month (Parker, R. and Dubberstein W.H., 1956, p. 14; Dandamaev M.A., 1963, 963a, p. 11. The other date 529 (Masson V.M., Romddin V.A. 1964 p. 57) is not correct.

12. Herrmann A., 1914, p. 19; P'yankov I.V., 1964, pp. 126-130; compare Struve V.V., 1968, pp. 51-56.

13. D'iakonov M.M., 1961, p. 79.

14. Dandamaev M.A. 1963, pp. 116-117.

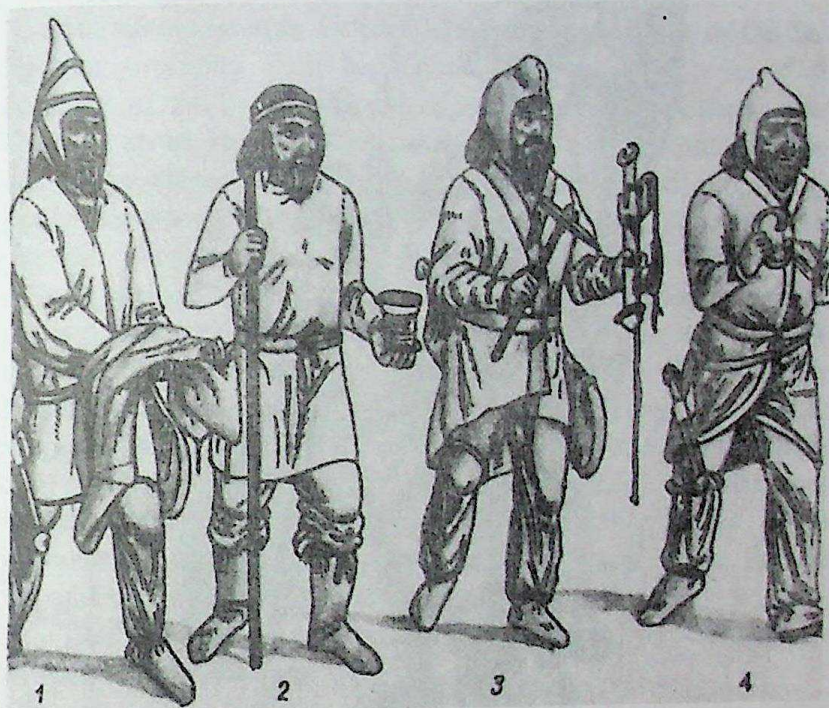
In 522, B.C. power in Iran was seized by Darius I (ruled upto 486 B.C.) who was the representative of the sidelined Achaemenid dynasty. Disorder in the royal house, the struggle for power against the backdrop of a socio-political crisis, resulted in the separation of most of the provinces from the Achaemenid state. The famous Behistun inscription of Darius I, aimed at perpetuating his achievements, gives a detailed account of suppression of uprisings.

The Central Asians also used this situation to overthrow the rule of the Achaemenids. Parthia, Margiana the Saks country took to rebellion (Behistun inscription II 6-8). The Margian uprising acquired a particularly wide sweep. In the Behistun inscription (III, 10-12) Darius I describes it thus : "Says the King Darius: the Margian country has become rebellious. One Frada of Margian has become the leader. Following this I sent a message to the Pers named Dadarshish, my slave and satrap in Bactria telling him to crush the forces which do not belong to me. After this Dadarshish went along with the troops and fought a battle with the Margians. Ahura-Mazda helped me. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda my troops routed the rebel forces. On the 23rd day of the month of Assiyad the battle was fought". Darius further adds (Behistun inscription, III, 19-20), "The country became mine". The date given in the inscription corresponds to 10 December 522 B.C.¹⁵ This date alongwith the date of Kir's defeat at the hands of the Massagets are the two exact dates known in the ancient history of the USSR.

The Achaemenid troops commanded by the Bactrian satrap did not spare any one. The rebellion was drowned in blood. According to the Babylonian version and the Aramei copy of Behistun inscription, over 55 thousand people were killed and 6.5-7 thousand men were taken prisoners.¹⁶ The rebel leader Frada, who initially escaped, was seized by Achaemenid troops. The rebellions in the provinces of Parthia and the region of the Saks were also ruthlessly suppressed. Darius I, in the third year

15. In his work "Uprising in Margiana during the rule of Darius I." Struve V.V., 1949 has made a special study of this rebellion.

16. Struve V.V., 1949, p. 24.



**Costumes of Central Asian peoples V.C.B.C.
(from the Achaemenid reliefs)**

1. Sak-Tigrahauda, 2. Bactrian, 3. Sogdian and 4. Khorezmian



**Eastern Pamirian Warrior — Sak
(VII-VI Century B.C.)**

Saks were also ruthlessly suppressed. Darius I, in the third year of his rule (519/518 B.C.), undertook a special campaign against the Saks – tigrahauds (Behistun inscription V, 20-30). The Saks were defeated in a battle and a part of them was taken as prisoners. Among the prisoners was the leader of the Saks–Skunha. Darius I nominated a new leader of the Saks.¹⁷

The antique author Polien (XII, 12), on the basis of the Saks legends surviving until his times, narrates about one of the episodes of the brave struggle of the Saks. Against them struck Darius I at the head of a vast army. In his camp appeared a Saks stableman named Shirak. His face was disfigured and he was badly wounded, his ears and nose were chopped off. Shirak told that his tribesmen had done this to him and he was determined to avenge himself. He offered to lead the Persian troops along the paths known to him in order to reach the rear of the Saks, suddenly. After seven days of tiring march, the Persian troops found themselves in an inhospitable desert. They were on the verge of perishing. The Persians now understood the deception. Shirak whom they threatened to kill proudly said: "I have won a victory because to avert the misfortune and disaster of my compatriots Saks, I, have starved the Persians". The Persians beheaded the brave stableman.

This campaign of Darius I, according to Polien, was unsuccessful.

2. Central Asian Society in V-IV Centuries B.C.

Central Asia as Part of the Achaemenid State

As the primary sources show, a considerable part of Central Asia formed Achaemenid State. According to one of the Persepolis inscriptions it extended from "Saks who were beyond Sogd", upto Kush (Ethiopia). The opinion that the "Saks beyond Sogd" were the Saks from behind the Syr Daria who lived along the higher and middle stream of this Central Asian river.¹⁸ Khorezm, Sogd,

17. Struve V.V., 1968, Dandamaev M.A., 1963 b.

18. Litvinskii B.A., 1960b, pp. 91-92.

Bactria, Parthia and many regions populated by nomadic Saks — all formed part of the Achaemenid State in the period of its highest development.

Bactria remained a part of the Achaemenid State till the end of its existence. It was the most important centre of the Achaemenid State in the East. Large human, economic and military resources of Bactria and of the regions linked with it, determined its role in the economic and political life of the eastern part of the state on the whole. In the dynastic struggle for the throne of “King of the Kings” Bactria had great importance. Bactrian elite apparently followed a separatist policy. But sometimes it actively supported one or the other claimant for the throne and tried to acquire a leading role in the whole state, along with the Persians.¹⁹

The entire Achaemenid State was divided into military tributary circles called the satraps. During the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C.) according to the information provided by Herodotus (III, 89-94), there were 20 satraps. The satrap who was directly under the king was always appointed from among the Persians. His duties were mainly collection of taxes in his region and maintenance of the troops.²⁰ He had also the right to have dealings with the neighbours and could with the concurrence of the king, even organize military expeditions. The position of the satrap was often hereditary.

The main function of the state apparatus was collection of taxes. According to the tax reform of Darius I every satrap was obliged to pay the annual tax in money. Besides, this tax was also paid in kind i.e. in the products of the handicrafts, mines, agriculture and cattle breeding. From the inscription on buildings in Suzas it is known that the Central Asian satraps provided different types of decorative stones for construction of palaces of the Achaemenid Kings (probably for other constructions as well) and also gold. In addition to these taxes and obligations there

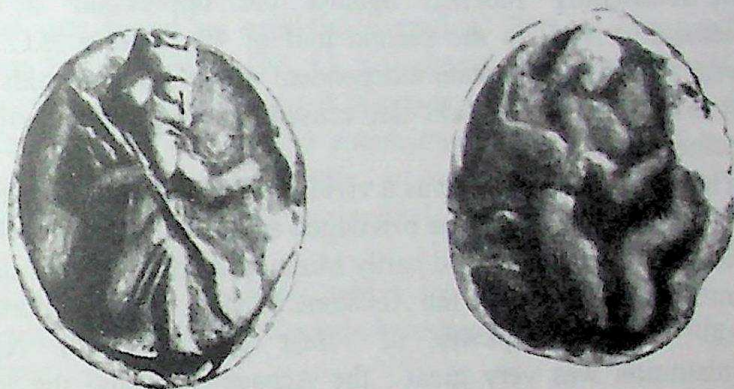
19. ITN, I, pp. 209-211.

20. As R. Frye writes, satraps were like small kings with their own courts and administrative apparatus reminiscent of the Central Government (Frye R.N., 1963, p. 102).

also existed internal duties and road taxes. Providing soldiers to the Achaemenid army was a heavy burden on the population.

The people greatly suffered under the burden of these taxes, for the payment of which they were often forced to mortgage lands with the money lenders and even to sell their children as slaves.

Central Asia was divided into four satrapies. The nomadic tribes, who lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea, according to Herodotus, formed part of the XI satrapy and paid yearly taxes amounting to 200 Babylonian silver talents.²¹ Khorezm, Sogd and Parthia formed part of the XVI satrapy and paid 300 talants. Bactria was part of the XII satrapy and paid 360 talants. Lastly, the Saks formed part of the XV satrapy and paid 250 talants. These were large sums for those times.



Achaemenid Coin Darik

One of the ways of extracting additional taxes from the peoples of Central Asia, by the Achaemenids, was the closing of the barrage gates, depriving them of water for irrigating their fields. For opening of the barrage gates the people had to pay new taxes. Herodotus (III, 117) writes: "...when they don't have water they go to Persia with their wives, they stand before the king's castle and wail; the king seeing the dire need of the supplicants orders the opening of the barrage gates leading to their valleys. When their lands' thirst is fully quenched the barrage gates are

21. Talant weighed about 30 kg. of silver.

again closed; along with this the king orders to open the barrage gates for other people who are in dire need of water. I know from the stories that the king charges large sums of money for opening of the barrage gates in excess of the usual payments.

Locating the barrage which was situated, according to Herodotus, on the river Akes is very difficult. According to majority of researchers this is river Tejen — Herirud sometimes also called Murgab. Attempts have been made to identify it more exactly.²²

Probably in the Achaemenid period large irrigation complexes were in the hands (or in control) of Achaemenid administration.

The condition of the toiling masses of Central Asia under the Achaemenid rule was very difficult. Freedom loving tribes and people constantly rebelled against the oppression of the Achaemenid rulers. In the second half of 4th century B.C. the Khorezmians formed a state independent of the Achaemenids. At about the same time the Saks also ceased to be the subjects of the Achaemenids.

The Achaemenid state was a vividly manifested slave-owning military-aristocratic state, the privileged and ruling strata of which consisted of the Persians and partly Midians. At places particularly distant from the centre of the Achaemenid state, in the regions of Central Asia, the power of "their own" Central Asian administration was very great : the Achaemenids and the local aristocracy jointly oppressed the peoples of Central Asian satrapies.

The Socio-economic System, Culture and Religion in Sogd, Khwarezm and Bactria in VI-V Centuries B.C.

The social system of the Eastern Iranian peoples of Central Asia, during the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty, as it is known to us through research on the entire complex differs to some extent or even substantially from the system of the Western Iranians.

In Central Asia the slave labour did not become the basis of economy although slave-owning system was quite developed

22. Marquart I, 1938, p. 9; D'yakonov I.M., 1956, p. 357; Masson V.M., 1967a, pp. 172-175.

here. Here the remnants of the tribal system were preserved more extensively and village communes were predominant. The establishment of the Achaemenid rule played a double role in the further socio-economic development of Central Asia : from one side it increased the development of slave-owning system to some extent, but considerably weakened the economy on the other side. Huge wealth was pumped out of the country in the form of tribute and material supplies, the best craftsmen were taken away from the country to build the palaces of the Achaemenid kings.

Archaeological data, from excavations of the Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand) and accounts of authors of antiquity, give us an opportunity to characterize, in general, the condition of sogd in that period.²³ Agriculture played a key role in the life of sogd. This period was based on artificial irrigation. This is supported by written sources. Strabo (XI, 11, 5) writes about the river Politimet (Zeravshan) : having irrigated this area (literally quenching fully the thirst of the country), it enters the country of sands and is devoured by them. Apparently, it meant that Zeravshan after providing water to the numerous canals of the Sogdians proceeded to the desert.

Along with agricultural settlements, whose population was engaged in agriculture and cattle breeding, urban settlements also emerged.

The largest among the latter was, what the Greeks called, Markanda — local name of Samarkand (modern Samarkand). At the time of Macedonian conquest the city had two parts : a citadel encircled by a wall and a moat, and the city itself with walls extending 70 *stadi* i.e., not less than 12-12.5 kilometers (Kwint Kurtsii, VII, 6, 10). The city was surrounded by a river, apparently Siab.

According to archaeological data, the ancient Samarkand (or its nucleus) was situated on the site of old city of Afrasiab. Research on this city reveal traces of settlement as old as 6-4 centuries B.C. in the north western and southern parts of Afrasiab

23. Terenozhkin A.I., 1947, p. 128; 1950 b, pp. 153, 155-156.

the territory in size about 50-70 hectares. If one takes into account the entire Afrasiab as populated, its size would then be more than 200 hectares. There is evidence that in the south the early population extended far beyond Afrasiab. So far as the citadel is concerned, it might have been located on the place of the mediaeval citadel.

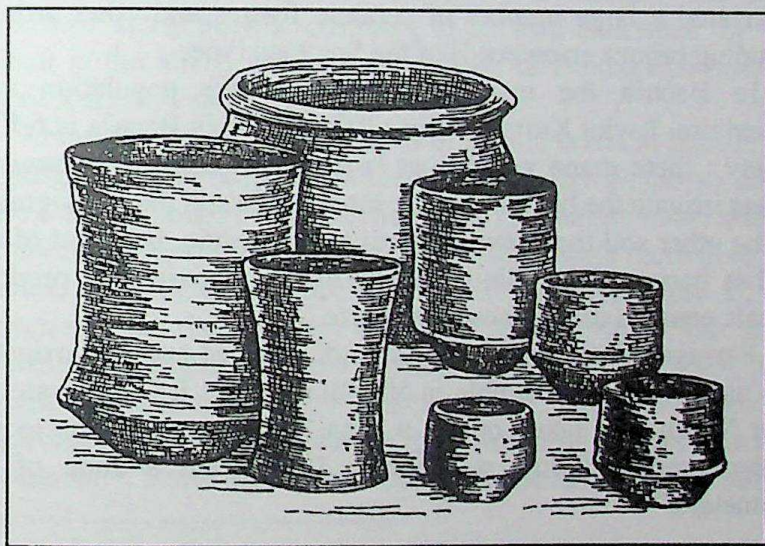
The length of the above-mentioned city wall — 70 *stadi* — raises a serious question which has not yet been resolved. The existing length of the outer wall of Afrasiab — 5 kilometres — does not correspond with the, 2.5 times larger, length mentioned in the sources. However, it may be kept in mind that the ancient city might not have been confined to Afrasiab as it extended beyond its limits.

During excavations at Afrasiab in the layers, related to the above-mentioned period, remnants of city buildings (raw bricks and mud) and ashpits have been found. Here vessels made on potter's wheel and by hand, and round-bottomed crude cauldrons made on textile fabric stencil were discovered. Excavations also revealed several types of instruments and articles of daily use (small iron spade, slightly bent iron sickle with wooden handle, bronze mirror, etc.) and also weapons (bronze arrowhead). A stone seal with the picture of a king or deity with arrow can also be dated from the same period.²⁴

There existed many city-type settlements, smaller than Markanda. Bazars in these settlements attracted traders from various countries, thanks particularly to the skilful products of the Sogdian craftsmen. A large number of craftsmen were engaged in the processing of iron, making utensils and weaving etc. Exchange existed although the economy mainly retained its natural character. Sogdian aristocracy acquired more and more power over the ordinary members of the commune. At that time the main religion of the Sogdians was Zoroastrianism, though side by side other cults inherited from the tribal system also existed.

24. Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 b, pp. 153-156; Shishkin V.A. 1969, pp. 148-149; Shishkina G.V., 1969 b, 1969a, Filanovich M.I. 1969, p. 206; Gulyamov ya. G., 1969, p. 7; Piankov I.V., 1970. A negative approach to equating Markand with Samarkand (Pachos M.K., 1967) is in our view baseless.

As shown by the results of the Khwarezmian expedition in Khwarezm during the period of 6th-5th centuries B.C. there existed very large settlements. One of them known as the settlement of Kiuzeligyr has a triangular form and extended over one kilometre in area. The outer perimeter of the town is in the form of a compact corridor like a passage with a width of 2.5 to 4 metres. In its interior there are one and two rows of buildings made of mud and bricks. These were meant to serve as storehouse for ammunition and cells for prisoners. In the centre there is a big building with large halls of regular planning. The magnificence of this building is in dire contrast with the poor construction of the peripheral constructions of the city, which underscores the deep-going process of socio-economic and property differentiation. The other relic of this period in Khwarezm is the settlement — Dingildzhe. Here suburban multi-room manor house is built apparently for the residence of the local aristocracy. The settlement Kalalygyr, with its halls of many columns, belongs to the end of the given period.²⁵



Ceramics from ancient Bactria

25. Tolstove S.P., 1962, pp. 96-117.

Margiana was famous for fertility of its fields. According to Strabo (1,10,102) in Margiana the land “produces fine vineyards. They say that here the stem of the vine is so thick that only two persons can embrace it and the grape bunches are as big as two arms”. Here large urban settlements in the pre-Achaemenid times, started emerging. One of them, apparently the largest one, was located at Gyaaur-Kala which was the site of the ancient Merv.

The citadel stood on a platform several metres in height and was built of raw bricks. Probably, it was here that the residence of the ruler of the region was situated. As for Yaz-depe, it was losing its earlier importance.²⁶

The settlement of Yelken-tepe whose study has revealed the existence of a powerful fortification system, played a significant role in northern Parthia.²⁷ According to the archaeological evidence, in this period, there existed in Merv large oasis irrigational canals one of which supplied water to the settlement of Gyaaur-Kala and surrounding fields. Here archeologists have discovered a large number of ceramic figures and other articles including bronze arrowheads of the Scythian type.

In Bactria the main occupation of the population was agriculture. Kwint Kurtsii writes: “The nature in Bactria is full of variety: there grape vine brings large and sweet fruits, abundant waters irrigate the hot soil; on the more fertile soil they sow grains, on the other soil they have pastures to raise cattle, but most of the land is barren plain. Plinii informs that in Bactria they produce cereals equal to usual wheatears in size.

For agriculture both types of land, irrigated and non-irrigated was used. Thus for example in 5th-4th centuries B.C. the water of river Vaksh was taken out in a canal which corresponds to the modern canal of Juibara Boldayi. It irrigated a zone of 50 kilometers.²⁸

26. Piotrovskii B.B., 1949 pp. 35-41; Masson V.M., 1959.

27. Marushchenko A.A., 1959, pp. 54-72.

28. Zeimal T.I., 1971, p. 52.

Excavations in Balkh showed that its most ancient layer belonged to the first half of the first millennium B.C.²⁹ Interesting material on the culture of northern Bactria was obtained during the excavations by M.M. D'iakonov in the lower parts of Kafirnigan on the site of Kala-i-Mir (Shaartuz district of the Republic of Tajikistan). In this settlement, which existed until the Revolution (at that time it was the abode of the Kabadian Beks), was found a badly ruined residential complex of the ancient Bactrian period. Eight narrow buildings built of raw rectangular bricks were discovered here. The outer walls of the complex were thicker than the other walls. At this place many vessels, of the type found in ancient Samarkand and Merv were discovered. Bronze arrowheads from the 7th-5th centuries B.C. as well as metallic articles (needle, knife) were found. The residents of this settlement, as shown by the archaeological excavations, were engaged in handicrafts (pottery, weaving, making of iron tools and bronze articles) as well as in agriculture on irrigated lands and cattle breeding.³⁰ The other settlement from 5th-4th centuries B.C. was excavated by T.I. Zeimal in the Vaksh valley, at the hillock of Boldai-tepe near the city of Kurgan-Tiube.³¹

About the level of development of artistic crafts in Bactria can be judged on the basis of articles forming part of the so-called Amu Darya treasure — a collection of large quantity of art articles mainly made from gold and silver (in all there were more than 180 articles, initially), a large number of gold and silver coins. All this collection was bought by Bukharan traders from the local residents, somewhere in the district of Kabadean in 1877, was brought by them to India and later fell into the hands of researchers. The authentic history of creation of this collection is not known.³² The artistic genius of ancient Bactrians, consummate

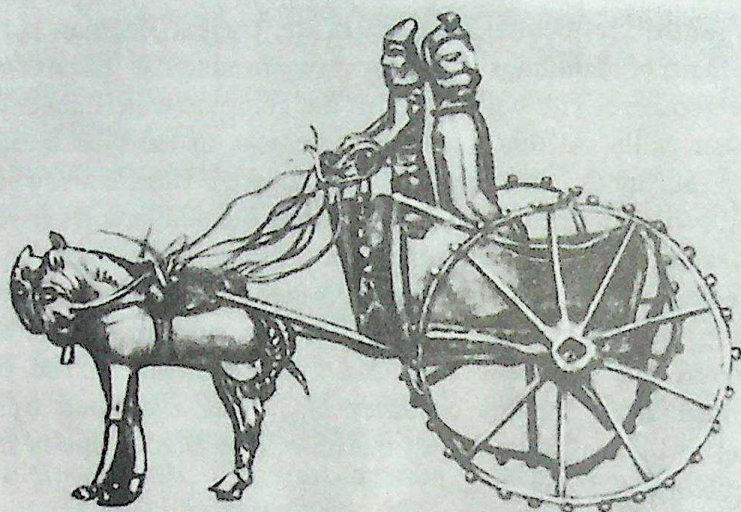
29. About the excavations in Balkh : Schlumberger D., 1949, pp. 173-190; Cardin J.C., 1957, le Berre M., Schlumberger D., 1964.

30. Diakonov M.M., 1954b.

31. Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 50-52.

32. Full publication : Dalton O.M. 1964; Bellingers A.R., 1962, pp. 51-67. For circumstances leading to their discovery see : Zeimal T.I., Zeimal E. V., 1962. Some Western scholars have tried to prove that among this collection there are many items brought from outside. In our opinion it

skill of the jewellery makers found their remarkable expression in many articles of the Amu Darya treasure. Here we see for example, chariots made of gold with harnessed horses, silver statue of man, gold plates with human pictures carrying all details of the dress and weapons, gold bracelets with goat and snake form at the tips, the large gold figure of deer, etc.



Amu Darya Treasure Model of a Coach (gold)

A. Cunningham considers that this is a personal collection belonging to some aristocratic Bactrian family. R. Ghirshman is of the view that the Amu Darya treasure is a part of the treasure of the famous temple Anahita in Bactria which was possibly destroyed during the invasion by the troops of Alexander of Macedonia or Selucus I. The latter hypothesis was supported by

consists mainly of Bactrian articles. It is another matter that the art of Bactria and the Western Iranian regions had many common elements and a sort of roll call is fully understandable. By the way, the publication of Dalton, which first appeared in 1905 and in a revised form in 1926, has by now become outdated in its research related parts. It is high time for a new research on the articles of the Amu Darya treasure in the light of new discoveries in the field of ancient art of Iran and other countries of the East as well as Central Asia. This gap has only been inadequately filled up by the research of R.D. Barnett (Barnett R.D., 1968).

R. Barnett who gave a later date for formation of this treasure (II Century B.C.).³³

Urban settlements, including large ones, existed in that period on the territory of northern Tajikistan.

On the large territory, occupied by the Saks tribes, there were also a variety of monuments. In the Eastern Pamir these were burial mounds. The burial was made not at great depth and was in a square form. At times we come across burials in pair. In the Semirechiye are found large mounds with a wooden cell. In the Aral region, between the Amu and the Syr Darya, large and complicated constructions of sepulchres of the Saks aristocracy are found. Also found are the settlements supposed to be of the Saks.

Religious faiths of the inhabitants of Central Asia was not uniform. In the settled regions, Zoroastrianism was widespread. It absorbed in itself different local cults. In our knowledge about the real content of religious concepts there are many lacunae. Several Saks tribes, perhaps, also adopted Zoroastrianism while some others followed religious concepts in which the central place belonged to the higher god connected with the sun — more likely Ahura Mazda (or Mitra).³⁴

In the Achaemenid state, the so-called young Avestian calendar was introduced. It was worked out on the basis of the Egyptian solar calendar with 12 months in the year of 30 days each and five days extra. The names of the months and days used in it were formed after the names of the deities and mythical characters of the Zoroastrian pantheon of the "Younger Avesta", as mentioned in "Gats" and other Iranian deities (including those categorically rejected by Zarathustra). This calendar was widely used by the Iranian peoples. In Central Asia, its use in the ancient times and early mediaeval times is testified by the available text for Sogd, Khwarezm and Parthia. From this originate the calendar of Middle Persian and the New Persian (the names of months in

33. Ghirshman R., 1964, pp. 88-94; Barnett R.D., 1968, pp. 35-52. It may be noted that R. Barnett based this theory of his on the idea of B.B. Tarn about the absence of gold in Bactria. However, this is not true because gold mines existed on the territory of Bactria.

34. Litvinskii B.A., 1968 b.

the Iranian solar calendar originate from the names of deities of "Younger Avesta)." The names of months of this calendar are confirmed in some other countries of Asia Minor also particularly in Armenia.³⁵

The Central Asian tribes and ethnic national groups had developed in this period epic literature which reflected in the Avesta. Ktesii has preserved extracts of the epic novel about the fate of the Saks queen Zarina and Striangei of Midii. After the death of her first husband, who was the king of the Saks, she married Mermer, the ruler of the Parthian region. A war took place between him and the king of the Persians.



Amu Darya Treasure (silver plate)

35. Diakonov I.M., and Livshits V.A. 1966, pp. 153 and thereafter.



Saka bronze incense stand

During this war “one Striangei of Midii threw from the horse a Saks woman — the Saks women fought like Amazons. Seeing a beautiful Saks woman he let her go without any harm. After some time Striangei was himself taken prisoner by the husband of that Saks beauty. He fell in love with her and she too responded to his love. But Striangei was condemned to death and entreaties by the queen could not soften the heart of her husband. Upon this she freed the prisoners and with their help killed her husband and started “friendship” with Striangei (Ktesii, extracts 7 (26), 8, (27) and others).”

In the opinion of some scholars it is an echo of the Saks epic. Others presume that it reflects the tradition of Midii. In our opinion the first point of view is preferable.

3. Central Asia and Iran during the Achaemenid Period

The Achaemenid state existed for more than two hundred years and thus it was one of the most strong one, among the known empires of the ancient world. The Achaemenid state played a big role in the history of the East. The cultural traditions, which emerged in the Achaemenid period, preserved themselves in the much later times during the empire of Alexander of Macedonia and the states of the Parthian, Sasanid and the Central Asian peoples.

During the Achaemenid period great social changes took place (development of land relations, increase in the importance of slave labour, active business of trading houses in Babylonia, etc.); a unified state currency system, taxation system based on economic possibilities of the countries comprising the empire an administrative system with division of the state into satrapies with exactly determined frontiers, a secretariat using a uniform common state Arameic script were created. The state postal system was also established, the old caravan roads were reconstructed and new ones were built. Besides this a common state legal code was prepared leaving in tact the old laws of the different peoples.

Of course, the historical reality was quite complex. The politics of the Achaemenid Kings can be considered as positive only in comparison with the earlier ancient eastern monarchies where despotism and suppression was stronger than what was under the Achaemenid rule. But even under them it was no idyll, in any way. Fierce class struggle, uprisings of the vanquished peoples continuously shook the Achaemenid state.

The Achaemenids in contrast with the preceding Eastern Kings were highly tolerant of the religions of others and even reconstructed the temples in different countries (for example in Babylonia and in the land of the Jews). Kir, the founder of the state, was most popular. The Persians called him their father, the Babylonians messenger of the Babylonian god Marduk, the Greeks the great state figure, and the messiah of the Jewish god Yakhwe.

During the Achaemenid rule favourable conditions for international trade were created. Countries in the Achaemenid empire were accessible to travellers and scholars. Many great representatives of ancient Greek culture (Hekat, Herodotus, Democritus and others), travelled during this period to the countries of the East and acquainted the Greeks with the achievements of the countries of the East.

All this helped in widening the cultural horizons of the subjects of the Achaemenid state and contributed to intensive interaction among the representatives of the different peoples.

As is, known well Alexander of Macedonia had an idea of unifying the Greeks and the peoples of the East into a single cultural and political entity which he wanted to achieve with the help of the Macedonian phalange (this met with a fierce opposition of the peoples particularly Central Asian) and also with peaceful means. It has to be noted that the process of cultural synthesis of different people started and grew intensively, two hundred years prior to the conquest of Alexander of Macedonia, and thus the measures taken in this respect by the latter were continuation of the Achaemenid policy.

In the Achaemenid period the representatives of different peoples lived and worked side by side. For example, on the island of Elefantin, on the border with Nubiya and in the city of Memfis Egypt, there lived and traded Egyptians, Greeks, Khwarezmians, Babylonians, Arameians, Jews and Phoenicians, etc. Often they exchanged different religious concepts, worshipped not only their's but other's gods and even changed their names for the names of aliens. In Nippur and other cities of Babylonia lived and worked together Babylonians, Egyptians, Karians Lidians, Midians, Jews, Indians, Saks, Bactrians and Khwarezmians, etc. In Suza, Persepol and other cities lived hundreds and thousands of emigrants from Egypt, Babylonia and Greece, etc. In these cities representatives of different people used to arrive starting with India and ending with Egypt. Material and spiritual culture of different peoples amalgamated and as a result gradually emerged the culture of the Achaemenid state which became a synthesis of scientific knowledge, art

performance and religious faiths of many countries. In this culture many peoples, including of course Central Asians, made their contribution.

In the Achaemenid state an important role was played by the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians, Parthians, Margianians, Saks and other peoples of Central Asia.

The peoples of Central Asia provided a large number of warriors, who were accustomed to the military way of life. For example, during the Graeco-Persian wars in the battle of Marathon along with the Persian infantry the Saks Cavalry distinguished itself and forced the Central battle line of the Athenians to retreat. The Saks showed the marvels of their valour in the battles of Platei and Fermopil. Persian general Mardonii took into his contingent selected troops with which he intended to conquer Greece Bactrians and Saks along with Persians and Midians. The Saks warriors also formed part of the naval forces. We see them even in Egypt. Terracota figures, depicting the Saks warriors in their conical hoods, can be found in the different cities of the Achaemenid state from Egypt to Central Asia.

In the Babylonian city of Nippur and its neighbourhood Saks military settlers lived in big colonies permanently.

They also lived in other cities of Babylonia. For example, in a document of the period of Darius I the name of Sak Sakiet from the city of Sippar is mentioned. Representatives of other Central Asian peoples served in different countries in the armies of the Achaemenid kings. They found themselves in these countries under different circumstances. On the distant island of Elefantin Khwarezmian Dargman lived and owned a house. It may be noted that in the Babylonian documents of the period of Darius I women from Gandhar and Bactria who were sold as slaves are mentioned. Representatives of Central Asia were also to be found in the Asia Minor.

In turn, in Central Asia emigrants from the western countries also lived. During the rule of Kserks in the 5th century B.C. in Central Asia lived emigrants from the Greek city Milet. They spoke in local as well as Greek language. During the period of Darius I the residents from the city of Bark (north Africa) were

moved to Bactria. Besides, in Central Asia there also lived the representatives of the Achaemenid state bureaucracy, particularly the Arameian scribes.

Although the key posts in the state administration were concentrated in the hands of Persians, the Achaemenids also allowed the representatives of other peoples to hold big posts. The Central Asians often held important positions. Thus, in the 4th, Century B.C. a Parthian Amminasp was the ruler of Egypt.

Iranian folk epic, which is partly known to us from the fragments of the work of a court physician Artakserks II Ktesii "Persian History" was created initially in the Central Asian regions (mainly among Bactrians and the Saks). Later this epic spread to the west, additions and alterations were made in it and it became the basis of the Iranian national epic. Many plots of this epic got incorporated in the Shahnama of Firdausi.

The Zoroastrian religion, which emerged in Central Asia during the Achaemenid period, started spreading to Iran and further to the West, later becoming the state religion of the Iranians before the conquest of Iran and Central Asia by the Arabs. Already in the 5th century B.C., in the city of Memfis, in Egypt was a temple of Iranian god Mitra and during the Roman Empire the cult of Mitra was popular in various countries extending upto the British islands.

According to the Babylonian historian Beross of 3rd century B.C. Artakserks II placed for worship the statues of goddess Anahita in Babylonia in the cities of Suzas, Ekbatans, Perrepol, Baktras, Damascus and Sardas.

From the Babylonian cuneiform tables and Arameian papyrus it is known that Iranian magicians appeared in Babylonia and Egypt in the Achaemenid period. Perhaps they performed religious rites in these countries.

Zoroastrian religion was, in general, known to ancient Greek scholars who wrote special treatises about it. Thus, for example, Aristotle wrote a work about magic of which only fragments have been preserved. About Zoroastrian religion Plutarch, Diogen Laertskii and others have also written. In the ancient Greek language Lidian historian of 5th Century B.C. Ksanf, Babylonian

historian Beross, philosopher Filon from Bibla and many others also wrote about Zoroastrianism. The main tenets of the Zoroastrian religion had a certain influence on the philosophical system of the ancient Greeks.

Artists in the Achaemenid period creatively recreated and developed cultural traditions, inherited from their predecessors and neighbouring peoples.

The Scythian tribes on the vast territory, from Siberia to northern Black Sea region, even before the Achaemenid period developed specific styles of depicting animals ("the Scythian animal style"). The works of this style were famous in the ancient times. Such subjects were used by some Greek painters. Achaemenid art is in many ways indebted to the "Scythian animal style" which was prevalent among the population of the Eurasian steppes including Central Asia (Its wonderful works have been found in Aral region, Semirechiye, in Pamir and in some areas of Kazakhstan). The works of Achaemenid art, the products of Achaemenid craftsmen penetrated not only into Central Asia but also further into the interior of the steppes for example, to Savromats influencing their art and culture.

The peoples of Central Asia and Iran had much in common in their dress also, particularly the Khorezmian, Bactrians and other Central Asian tribes who had similar dress. The dress of the Saks-Tigrahaud was distinguished by their conical headwear. This dress consisted of short half-coats with wide belts and narrow trousers. The representatives of Central Asians are depicted on the reliefs of Behistun, Persepol and Nakshirustam which give valuable information about the characteristic anthropological and ethnographic peculiarities of the people. From the same relics it is obvious that the Persians also wore the dress similar to the one worn by the Central Asian peoples.

Kurgan excavations of 6th-4th centuries are indicative about the cultural and trade links of the Achaemenid Iran with Central Asia and the regions to the north-east of the Altai. Here, in conditions of permafrost articles, from leather, wool and felt are nicely preserved. Of great interest are the pieces of woollen materials and felt carpet found in RIV Pazyryks mound. These

articles testify to the high level of technique of weaving and carpet – making. Some experts assume that this carpet was made by Persian or Midian masters while others are of the view that it is of Central Asian origin. Apparently, such carpets were made in Iran and Central Asia because the style, technique of artistic execution and the subjects depicted on them were common among many Iranian-speaking peoples. Great similarity is also seen in the various types of weapons and the style of their wearing among the peoples of Central Asia and Iran, as is evident from the data of archaeological excavations and depictions on the Achaemenid reliefs.

In the first millennium B.C., in Central Asia and the Eurasian steppes, there appeared the type of a heavily armed cavalryman with protective armour, loincloth and helmet, and armour for the horse as well. Later this type of weaponry spread to Iran and Asia Minor where it is already evident at the end of the 5th century B.C. Lastly, the people of Central Asia made their large material contribution in the creation of splendid monuments of Achaemenid arts. As an inscription of Darius tells for the construction of palace in Susa the gold was supplied from Bactria, lazurites from Sogdiana and turquoise from Khorezm. This information, the data of authors from the ancient times and archaeological excavations testify to the high level of mining in Central Asia and its influence on the development of mining in Iran. It may also be noted that lazurite from Central Asia was used in India, Babylonia and Egypt.

In this manner, the incorporation of Central Asia into the Achaemenid state greatly widened the geographical horizon and scientific knowledge of the Western Iranians, Greeks and other peoples. In their turn the peoples of Central Asia borrowed many developments from the Persians, Midians and other peoples.

The Central Asian regions were first acquainted with the script when they joined the Achaemenid state.

The discovery of Aramean inscriptions on the territory of former Eastern satrapies of Achaemenid state (Takshila, Pul-i-darunta and Kandahar) testify that in this period the Aramean language and script had already penetrated into the province of the upper Sind and in Central Asia and were used there for official

purposes. Under the Achaemenids, standard formulations of transmission of Arameian terminology and office terms into the Iranian languages were gradually worked out.

Later, from the post-Achaemenid official Arameian script, developed four ideographical script systems : Parthian, Persian, Sogdian and Khwarezmian. These systems were preserved in Central Asia, and Iran before these countries were conquered by the Arabs. The main material for the study of Central Asian and particularly Bactrian art of the middle of the first millennium B.C., is provided by the Amu-Darya treasure. The latest coins of the Amu-Darya treasure date back to 200 B.C. but most of the articles are undoubtedly from an older period—4th century B.C. and probably 6th-5th centuries B.C.

In this treasure there are many imported articles, however, a part of it consists of products of local masters. They were acquainted with the court art of the Achaemenid. Iran is known to us first from the magnificent palaces of Persepol and Suza. Scenes of lion hunting depicted on the golden — facing of the dagger sheath, figures of lions show the influence of tradition of the masters of the Assyrian reliefs whose favorite theme was royal lion hunting. Even more prominent in Ancient Bactrian art was another school which was close to the art of the wide world of the nomads. This art is distinguished by its particularly expressive methods of depicting animals in their quick movements, unusual poses and postures. Traits of this style can be traced on the articles in the Amu Darya treasure. Such are miniatures of deers, silver sculpture of goat standing in an intensely energetic movement, scene of cavalry men hunting goats and hares. From the sources, it is known that the Sogdian aristocracy of the 4th century B.C. owned hunting parks and it was quite natural that the hunting scenes were so popular in the art of ancient Bactria. Hence, during a study of the problems of art of the "animal style", it is necessary to take into account the role of the art schools of Bactria and other settled oases. During the Achaemenid period, because of development of crafts and money commodity relations, there began a more intensive development of Central Asian cities as administrative and handicraft centres.

It may also be noted that during the Achaemenid period the peoples of Central Asia, for the first time, got acquainted with the minted coin. The samples of gold *dariks* and other coins of the Achaemenid monetary system were discovered on the territory of Central Asia.

In the Achaemenid period the trade links of Central Asia with other countries were developing intensively.

This development was helped by the caravan road joining Iran with Babylonia which extended upto Bactria. On the territory of Central Asia have been found art articles of western Iran, Egypt and other countries. Among them there are articles of the Achaemenid period made by Greek craftsmen in the Nile basin in the city of Navkratis.

Besides this, the peoples of Central Asia, in the Achaemenid period, got acquainted not only with the culture of western Iranians but also with the ancient civilizations of Elam, Babylonia, Egypt and other countries.

Thus the inclusion of Central Asia, in the Achaemenid state played a big role in the development of culture and state institutions of the peoples of Central Asia as well as their western neighbours. All the common cultural values, which emerged, during this period, were preserved over many centuries.

The Achaemenid state existed for more than two hundred years and proved itself to be one of the strongest world empire of the ancient times. The developments in the sphere of economy, political and cultural traditions continued to play a big role in the history of the peoples of the East in the Hellenic period and the existence of the Parthian and Sasanid states.

Archaeological material and the data in written sources testify to a considerable progress during the Achaemenid period in the sphere of productive forces (for example, the introduction of iron tools in the various countries from Egypt to Central Asia), the development of agriculture, irrigation and wide reclamation of new lands, the big progress of crafts and growth of cities and settlements, and flourishing of internal and external trade. The culture and art of the Achaemenid state, which was created as a result of active interaction of different ethno-cultural traditions, not

only outlasted the Achaemenid state itself but also left a deep influence on the development of culture of different peoples of the East and the West. Thus the Achaemenid period of political unity of the peoples of the East formed a significant stage in the economic and cultural development of the entire world civilization and in this the role of the Central Asian peoples and tribes was great.

The establishment and the entire period of existence of the Achaemenid state is marked by expansion of class struggle of the popular masses against the exploiting minority. The establishment and expansion of the Achaemenid state was accompanied, as in the case of any other empire, by campaigns of conquest and suppression of rebellions in the different parts of the empire. But at the same time, as mentioned above, the union of many countries helped the development of civilization in the East and the strengthening of mutual economic and cultural links of people.³⁶

36. Gafurov, B.G., 1966, 1971.

Chapter 4

Peoples of Central Asia in the Struggle against Graeco-Macedonian Conquerors

1. Campaign of Alexander of Macedonia in the East

The Rise of Macedonia

During the reign of Philip II (359-336 B.C.) a sharp increase took place in the power of Macedonia, its consolidation and unification. In this the successful struggle against the separatism of the Macedonian nobility played an important role. Philip also reorganised the army. In particular, the formation of the infantry in separate units — phalanxes — was introduced. Especially significant was the introduction of new tactical methods, coordinated actions of various types of troops. Philip was successful in conquering a considerable part of Greece. In the year 337 B.C., in the Korinf Congress, the Macedonian hegemony over Greece acquired a legal basis. It was then that a war against Persia was declared. In the year 336 B.C. ten-thousand strong army of Philip began a war against the Persians in Asia Minor. But Philip was killed by his own bodyguard.

Power came into the hands of Alexander, the 20-year old son of Philip who became known in the history as Alexander of Macedonia. Greek cities tried to restore their independence but Alexander quickly destroyed their illusions, he turned out to be a more ruthless ruler than his father and subjugated his opponents.

Engels wrote “Philip and Alexander gave political unity to the Hellenic peninsula.”¹



Coin with Figure of Alexander of Macedonia

Destruction of the Achaemenid State

Thanks to the information from Persia, Alexander knew well about the unstable position of the Achaemenid state.²

The Achaemenid ruler Artakserks II Mnemon had 150 sons. After the death of the king in the year 359 B.C.³ one of them Artakserks III Okh inherited his throne. Even before the death of his father, and because of his (Okh's) treachery, his brothers were killed; on coming to power he annihilated all his relatives without any consideration of age and gender thus entering history as the bloodiest among the Achaemenid kings.

The first years of his rule were marked by continuous wars in the Asia Minor. The wars with Egypt were long and bloody (Egypt had separated long ago from the Achaemenid state). Although these wars were over in the year 342 B.C., by incorporation of lower Egypt (as also Phoenicia and Cyprus), they exhausted the strength and capacity of the Achaemenid State. Striving to impart some stability to the state, Artakserks III prohibited the Asia Minor satraps to keep mercenary troops. This measure was important but it came too late in the year 338 B.C.,

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, T. 22, p. 483.

2. For a detailed account see: Olmstead A.F., 1959, p. 424.

3. Another date given is 358 B.C.

Artakserks III Okh was poisoned by his physician on the order of his eunuch Bagoi⁴, who had acquired great influence by that time.

Disorder in the royal family enlivened the hopes of Greek enemies of the Achaemenids. The new Achaemenid king, Arses, was a puppet in the hands of court circles led by Bagoi. When Arses tried to act independently the powerful eunuch ordered to poison him (Arses ruled for less than two years); his sons were also killed. As the representatives of the main line of the Achaemenid house were annihilated 'the king-maker' installed the third cousin of Arses on the throne who became known in history under the name Darius III Kodoman. After some time Bagoi tried to poison his newly installed protege but the latter forced the eunuch to drink the bowl of poison.

Dynastic feuds and palace coups weakened the central power in the Achaemenid state and increased separatistic aspirations of the nobility in the provinces. Economic development of different regions, included in the Achaemenid state, contributed to the separatistic urges. Although direct data about the social policy of the Achaemenids, at the end of the dynasty's existence are absent, a definite impression of absolute dominance of the nobility is created. The policy of social balance, declared by Darius I and also perhaps by his nearest successors, was later abandoned. The social base of the dynasty became extremely narrow. Popular masses continuously struggled against the Achaemenid yoke; uprisings broke out time and again.

It was in these conditions that war started between the Greek Macedonian and the Achaemenid states. Shortly after the beginning of military actions the Greek Macedonian army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Achaemenid army in the battles on the river Granek (May 334 B.C.) and near the city Iss (November 333 B.C.). Alexander of Macedonia conquered the Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia and Egypt. In the spring of 331 B.C. the

4. In the opinion of Olmstead, despite his thirst for blood, Artakserks III Okh was a capable ruler. However, the view that having killed him Bagoi thus destroyed the Achaemenid state (Olmstead A.F., 1959, p. 48) is purely imaginary and far from truth.

Graeco-Macedonian troops moved to the Central part of the Achaemenid empire.

On 1 October 331 B.C. the battle of Gavgamelas took place (a settlement in north-eastern Mesopotamia). The Achaemenid troops suffered complete defeat. Darius III fled. The victorious march of the Graeco-Macedonian troops, into the central parts of the Achaemenid state, began. One after another Babylon, Suzas, Persepol, Pasargads were captured. A large booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. The war was won but for its conclusion it was necessary for Alexander of Macedonia to capture Darius III. The Graeco-Macedonian troops started chasing the Achaemenid king fleeing hastily towards the north-east.

At the same time among the Achaemenid nobility, surrounding Darius III, a conspiracy against him was ripening. The cowardice and indecision of Darius III and also his lack of military talents contributed to the Graeco-Macedonian victories. He was not the figure around whom the anti-Macedonian forces could have grouped. At this moment there came to the fore a relative of the Achaemenid king, the satrap of Bactria, Bess (Arrian, III, 21, 5), who led the conspiracy.

Following a military coup Darius III was arrested and later killed. Bess declared himself the king ascending the royal throne of Artakserks and started gathering forces to repulse the Graeco-Macedonian troops.

Struggle at the Approaches of Central Asia

In the written sources there is some information about the measures adopted by Bess. First of all, he tried to legitimise his power. An echo of such an action is the information given by Diodor (XVII, 74, 1-2) about Bactria: "Bess promised to lead in the war and the people having become convinced declared him as the king". Further, it is evident from this source that Bess "recruited troops and collected a large quantity of weapons". Bess tried quite successfully to gain support of the neighbouring satrapies, first of all, Areia in the region of modern Herat as also of the nomadic people. A "coalition of

satrapies" was formed. But Bess could not get the support of the wide sections of the people because of his assumption of the title and the name of the Achaemenid king. Moreover he did not have time the Graeco-Macedonian troops were rushing from the West.

Serious opposition was offered to the Graeco-Macedonian troops in Areia. It took more than a month for Alexander of Macedonia to crush this resistance. A large cavalry force of Areians, under the leadership of Satibarzan, managed to escape from Alexander to join Bess. Alexander of Macedonia, having seized the southern regions of Afghanistan where perhaps there were supporters of Bess, proceeded to the north through the Hindukush passes. At the time of arrival of the Graeco-Macedonian troops in the valley of northern Afghanistan Bess had seven or eight thousand armed Bactrians and some other small contingents (Arrian III, 28, 5; Kwint Kurtsii, VII, 4, 20). In order to divert a part of the troops of Alexander he sent Satibarzan with two thousand strong cavalry to Areia and there a rebellion broke out for the suppression of which Alexander had to send some auxiliary detachments. Even then the forces of Alexander of Macedonia and Bess were unequal. Bess retreated to the northern trans-Amu Darya part of Bactria, i.e., to Central Asia. In the historical literature there are different contradictory assessments of the character and results of the actions of Bess. In our view these actions, notwithstanding the subjective monarchist aspirations of Bess, had an objectively progressive significance. Thanks to the struggle unleashed under the leadership of Bess the intrusion of the Graeco-Macedonian troops into Central Asia was postponed by several months, may be by half a year because the troops of Alexander got exhausted. The struggle of the "coalition of satrapies against the Graeco-Macedonian" troops formed a prelude to the really popular struggle, which started later on the territory of Central Asia.⁵

5. ITN, I., pp. 241-242.

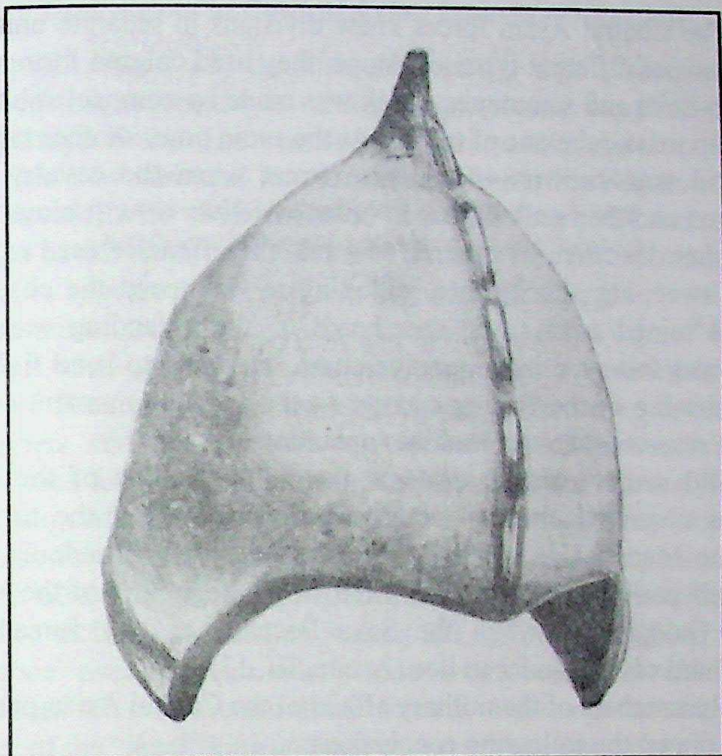
2. Struggle of the Central Asian Peoples against the Graeco-Macedonian Forces

Military Forces and the Art of War of the Central Asian Peoples

What kind of forces the Central Asian peoples possessed to rebuff Alexander of Macedonia ? It must be observed that the main short-coming of the Central Asian defence forces was the absence of centralisation. The Achaemenid possessions in the given period consisted of only a part of Central Asian territory and were not firmly unified; in the remaining regions the individual rulers and the tribal rulers were at the helm of affairs.

The Central Asian weaponry in the fourth century B.C. had attained a high level of development. The Central Asian troops widely used iron (rarely bronze) daggers and swords, handles of which were richly decorated. Daggers were worn on the right side. For dagger the Central Asian peoples used the term *karta* along with the other term *akinak*. Swords were quite long — upto 1.2 metres. Very often in fighting battle axes were used — *sagaris*. Such iron battle axes, with one or two blades, have been found in the excavations of burial grounds in the Pamir. Herodotus (I, 215), Strabo (XI, 8,6) inform that pole axes of the Massagets were made of copper. Spears (*arshti*) with long bronze or iron heads were of great importance. Herodotus (I, 215) calls the Massagets as “spear carriers”. The role of the mace was modest.

For distant fighting, often bows and arrows were used. Already from the middle of the first millennium B.C. complex bow of the, so-called Scythian type, was in use. It was distinguished by its considerably long range and effectiveness. There were several types of it. For the making of Bactrian and also Sogdian, Parthian and Khwarezmian bows reed was used (Herodotus, VII, 54, 66). In the historical sources “bowmen” and “horse-riding” bowmen of Saks and Massagets are mentioned (Herodotus I, 215; Ksenofont, “Kiropedia”, V, 3, 24; Arrian, III, 8, 3). The Central Asian warriors were skillful in using slings as well (Arrian, IV, 3, 3; Kwint Kurtsii, VII, 6,2,2,; Plutarch, “The life of Alexander”, XV, 3).



Central Asian Bronze Helmet

The warriors were protected by defensive armours. Kwint Kurtsii (IV, 9, 3) writes that the Central Asian steppe people had armours made from "iron plates". According to Arrian (III, 13, 4) the Central Asian warriors were "thoroughly covered" by metallic armour. Metallic helmets and shields of different forms and sizes were used. According to Herodotus (I, 215) the Massaget horses were protected by chest armours. There were also war charriots in Central Asia.

At the end of the bronze epoch in Central Asia the art of fortification was born. By the time of Graeco-Macedonian invasion, Central Asia was a country of large heavily fortified cities. Besides, general city fortifications in big cities, there were powerful fortification points in the form of city citadels. Walls had towers with loop-holes.

The Central Asian forces knew divisions in separate units on the basis of different types of troops; they used column formations in sub-units and sometimes attack was made by compact sub-units in deep mass echelons of troops. At the same time, another tactical method was known — strategic retreat when the cavalry first charged and then pulled back in order to deliver a swift blow from the other direction. In general, as a rule the offensive used to start by a sweeping attack when galloping at full speed the charging troops rained arrows and spearheads on the defending warriors. This was followed by a decisive attack and hand-to-hand fighting and chasing of the fleeing enemy. At the decisive moment of the battle reserves were pressed into operation.

Old sources highly evaluate the military skills of the Saks troops about which the Greeks were convinced, at the time of Graeco-Macedonian wars. Later Alexander of Macedonia was himself convinced for the first time, at the beginning of the battle near Gavgamelas when the Saks Bactrian cavalry forced the vanguard of Alexander to flee (Arrian, III, 13).

Researchers of the military affairs of the Central Asian peoples have drawn the following conclusions:

- (i) The armament of the Central Asian troops stood at a high level and in certain respects even surpassed the armament of the Graeco-Macedonian troops.
- (ii) The Central Asian troops knew and used different tactical methods in defence and offence.
- (iii) Thanks to the participation in the wars of the Achaemenid state with the Greeks, including the battles against the troops of Alexander of Macedonia (beyond the frontiers of Central Asia), leaders of the Central Asian troops were very well acquainted with the weaponry and tactical methods of the Achaemenid as well as the Graeco-Macedonian troops.
- (iv) The military potential of the peoples of Central Asia in 6th-4th centuries B.C. was very high which was the main factor in their struggle against foreign invaders.⁶

6. Litvinskii B.A., P'iankov I.V., 1966, pp. 51-52; Litvinskii B.A., 1966.

Military Operations in Central Asian Inter-River Region

Arrian (III, 28, 9-10) narrates the events, thus "Bess, when informed that Alexander is already near, crossed the river Oxus (Amu Darya B.G.). The vessels used for crossing the river were burnt down by him and he proceeded towards the Sogdian land into Navtaka. He was followed by Spitamen⁷, Oksiart with Sogdian cavalymen and Dai from Tanais". Here for the first time in sources appears the hero of anti-Macedonian struggle.

Alexander took five days to cross the river Amu Darya.⁸ Here an event took place which has not been clearly narrated in the sources.⁹ Bess was overthrown by his accomplices — Spitamen and others and handed over to Alexander of Macedonia. The motivations for this are not clear. It cannot be ruled out that being at this stage of no use as he could not lead the struggle any more,

Bess nevertheless did not want to yield his leadership to others and the latter with some hesitation were forced to eliminate him.¹⁰ In the council of Macedonian leaders and the Persian nobles, who had gone over to Alexander's side which was convened by Alexander after his return from Bactria, Bess was accused of murder of the "legal" king and usurpation of the royal title.

Alexander ordered to cut off the ears and nose of Bess and to take him to Ekbatan for execution before the Midians and Persians. He wanted to win over the sympathy of the Persian nobility by projecting the execution of Bess as punishment for usurpation of the king's power.

After capturing Navtaka, Alexander advanced towards the Capital of Sogd, Markanda (Greek form of the local name of

7. Abaev V.I., 1959, footnote 2 on p. 114.

8. Trever K.V., 1947, p. 114.

9. Many studies are devoted to the military campaign of Alexander of Macedonia in Central Asia and the struggle of the Central Asian peoples against Graeco-Macedonian invasion. See particularly: Grigoriev V.V., 1881; Trever K.V., 1947; ITN, I., pp. 236-274; Zolling, T.H., 1875; Schwarz F., 1906.

10. V.V. Grigoriev in his work "The campaign of Alexander the Great in Western Turkistan" writes that overthrow of Bess was related to his "outrageously cowardly behaviour".

Samarkand¹¹) and seized it. Perhaps in the region of Markanda, he met with resistance because according to Kwint Kurtsii (VII, 6, 10) "having left his garrison in the city, Alexander burnt down and devastated the nearby villages". After that he proceeded to the north east. But the troops of Alexander of Macedonia faced great difficulties on the way. The Sogdians unitedly revolted against the foreign invaders. When it came to the defence of the freedom and independence of their motherland they defended it with outstanding courage. This struggle formed a bright page in the history of the peoples of Central Asia. One of its first episodes was the clash of the Greek invaders with the Sogdian tribes of the mountainous region of Ustrushan which took place during the military campaign of the troops of Alexander, through the mountains between Markanda and Kiropol.

Groups of foragers were sent to the Ustrashan cities including the main city of Kireskhatu (Kiropol). The inhabitants enraged by the violence and extortion were forced to retreat into the mountains where they tried to organise their defence.¹² The struggle was conducted in the inaccessible rocky mountains. The Sogdians resisted to the last. Arrian informs that many of them, desiring not to be taken as prisoners, took their own life. With great difficulty Alexander could suppress their resistance. As a result of his military campaign 22 thousand local people were killed. Great losses were suffered by the Graeco-Macedonian troops also. Alexander of Macedonia himself was seriously wounded (Arrian, III, 30, 10-11).

After savage reprisals of Sogdians of Ustrushan, Alexander advanced to Syr Daria which at that time was considered the border between the nomadic steppe and agricultural valleys. On the right bank of the river lived the Saks and on the left several large and small cities were situated. Alexander stopped on the banks of Syr Daria and stationed Graeco-Macedonian garrisons in the local cities. After some time the population of seven cities on the left bank of Syr Daria rose against the Greeks. On the other bank the Saks were waiting for the opportune time to cross the

11. Henning W.B., 1958, p. 54.

12. ITN I., pp. 253-255.

river to help the rebels. At the same time rebellion broke out in Bactria and Sogd. It was the beginning of a general uprising of the peoples of Central Asia against Graeco-Macedonian invaders.

Alexander found himself in a difficult situation and decided first of all to strengthen his position on the bank of Syr Daria. In two days he captured five riverside cities and savagely dealt with their population. "All the male population was killed. This was the order of Alexander; women, children and other booty was taken by soldiers" (Arrian, IV, 2,4).

A strong resistance to the siege by the Greeks was put up by the population of the city of Kiropol which was the centre of the revolt on Syr Daria. Alexander was forced to personally take part in the assault on Kiropol. He took with him a contingent of warriors and having entered the city by crossing the dried up course of the river, let his troops in by opening the gate. On the streets of the city a bloody battle followed in which eight thousand local people were killed. The losses of the Greeks were big. In this battle Alexander and several of his important commanders were wounded.

After a severe onslaught, the last stronghold of the rebels was captured. Thus, the uprising of the people against the Greek, invaders was suppressed. Arrian says that out of the population of the seven cities participating in this uprising every one was killed or sold in slavery.

The Uprising of 329-327 B.C.

The struggle of Sogd and Bactria for independence was led by a local military leader Spitamen, one of the remarkable figures in the history of the predecessors of the Tajik people. In the years 329 B.C., after collecting considerable troops which were also joined by peaceful inhabitants, he captured the city of Markanda. A major part of the garrison, was slaughtered and the surviving Greek warriors locked themselves up in the citadel awaiting outside help.

Alexander, after suppressing the uprising on the Syr Daria, sent three thousand infantrymen and eight hundred cavalymen to help the Greeks under siege and himself started construction of the fortified city of Alexandria Askhata (remote Alexandria) on the

Syr Daria (probably between modern Begavat and Leninabad or in the region of Leninabad, including the territory of the city).¹³

According to Kwint Kurtsii (VIII, 6, 25-27), "Alexander came back to the banks of river Tanais (i.e. Syr Daria, B.G.) and built a wall around the space occupied by the camp. The walls were 60 *stadis* in length (10-11 Kilometres, B.G.). He ordered this city to be named, Alexandria. The construction of the city was so fast that on the seventeenth day after the erection of the fortifications the city houses were built. In the new city the prisoners were settled". According to Arrian (IV, 4, 1) the new city was surrounded by a wall in twenty days. Alexander "settled there Hellenic mercenaries, along with those neighbours of the barbarians who desired to settle down there and such Macedonian soldiers as were no longer fit for military service". Justin (XII, 5, 12) also confirms that the construction (reference to the early basic construction work), took 17 days. The city wall was in circle 6,000 "pairs of footsteps", i.e., about 9 kilometres.¹⁴ In the newly built city, according to Justin, inhabitants of other cities were moved and such troops of Alexander were left as were prone to rebellion. This city was conceived as a fortified stronghold on the north-eastern border of the state. The actions of Alexander, in particular, construction of the fortified city roused the concern of the Saks who lived beyond the Syr Daria. "King of the Scythians (i.e. the Saks, B.G.), whose state extended at that time on the other side of river Tanais, considered that the city founded by the Macedonians on the bank of the river was the yoke around his neck", – wrote

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13. Findings about the location of this city are based on a study of the sources and detailed acquaintance with the topography of the locality which were published in the book: B.G. Gafurov, *Istoria Tajikskogo Naroda*, third edition, Moscow, 1955. An opinion was expressed that Alexandria Askhata was located on the place of the citadel in Khojent, i.e., in the center of the Leninabad city (N.N. Negmatov, 1956, pp. 33-34).
 14. Coordination of the testimonies of Kwint Kurtsii and Justin about the size of Alexandria Askhata became possible only after the term used by Justin for measurement of length was differently interpreted. This term does not mean "one step" as it was usually translated in our literature (at that time the circumference of the city worked out to 4 – 4.5 kilometres) but a "pair of stops" (ITN, I., pp. 256-529).

Kwint Kurtsii (VII, 7, 1). The nomadic Saks fired arrows on the Greeks from the other side of the river Syr Daria. Alexander fired on them from catapults and forced them to retreat.

After crossing the river on the rafts, Alexander attacked them, forcing them to flee to the steppes. However, the attempt to completely crush the Saks fell almost short of destruction. Terrible heat, shortage of water, lack of roads in the desert along with the continuous attacks of militant Saks who were commanded by the brother of their king (Kwint Kurtsii VII, 1), created for the invaders an unbearable situation. They had to stop their chase as if because of the illness of Alexander (Arrian, IV, 8-9).

At the time when the Graeco-Macedonian troops attempted to capture Ustrusha and Western Fargana, the fire of rebellion spread over the entire Sogdiana and a part of Bactria. Alexander of Macedonia without realising the magnitude of the uprising sent to Markanda as help to the besieged garrison in the citadel a relatively small detachment (around 2500 men). When the detachment came close to Markanda Spitamen ended the siege and feigned to retreat. The Greek troops started chasing the Sogdians. At the appropriate moment Spitamen turned back and took to offence. The Greeks, writes Arrian (IV, 5, 8), "fled to the small island in the river (river Zeravshan, B.G.). Here the Scythians and the cavalymen of Spitamen surrounded them and shot them down."¹⁵

As the famous West German historian, F. Altheim, rightly observed, "Spitamen succeeded in achieving what none other before him could achieve; he annihilated in a battle, a part of the Macedonian troops."¹⁶ Supported by local population Spitamen besieged the Macedonian garrison in Markanda for the second time. When Alexander with his main forces reached Markanda Spitamen again retreated with his troops into the steppe without fighting. Having learnt a good lesson in the battle with nomad

15. According to F. Schwarz the battle took place on the right side of Zeravshan in the region of Ziaddin (Schwarz F., 1906, pp. 62-63); in the opinion of Litvinsky it took place towards the West (ITN, I., pp. 530).

16. Altheim F., 1953, p. 68.

Scythians, Alexander did not chase Spitamen in the steppe and contented himself with ruthless punishment of the peaceful population of the Zeravshan valley. "He ordered to burn down the villages and kill all the adults" (Kwint Kurtsii VII, 9, 22). Doomed to punishment, thirty Sogdian nobles showed self-composure which surprised the Macedonians; while singing they embraced death (Kwint Kurtsii VII, 10, 4). The losses of the Greek troops were extraordinarily large and Alexander feverishly prepared for the spring campaign of 328 B.C. Spending winter in Bactria, he held negotiations with the Saks leaders and Khawarezmians and was occupied with replenishing his troops. The heroic people of Sogd, notwithstanding their big losses did not even think of surrendering. Spitamen did not leave his enemy in peace even for a day. "He attacked the invaders with his "flying" cavalry detachments inflicting hard blows on them. As Arrian informs, "many Sogdians fled to fortified places and did not want to obey the satraps" (appointed by Alexander, B.G.) (IV, 15, 7). Indeed the ransacked and ravaged country of the Sogdians was rising again against the intruders. With the object of suppressing the uprising, Alexander divided his twenty thousand strong troops into five detachments and went through Sogd from one end to the other killing every one he met. Greek historian Diodorus of Sicily (XVII) informs : "Alexander chases the rebellious Sogdians and kills more than 120 thousand people". As a result, of this ruthless punitive expedition, the country became so devastated that Alexander ordered one of his commanders "to found cities in Sogdiana" (Arrian, IV, 16, 3). Perhaps, Alexander had in mind the founding of Greek military settlements in the devastated Sogdian cities which could serve as strong base for Graeco-Macedonian army and the administration.¹⁷

At a time when the invaders in Sogd were shedding streams of blood and the military commanders left in Bactria by Alexander took all measures to keep the country in subordination and punish the rebels, Spitamen with 600 cavalrymen penetrated into the rear of Alexander (Bactria), where he continued his fight with the

17. This viewpoint has now been confirmed by detailed philological analyses conducted by I.V. Piankov (Piankov I.V., 1970, pp. 47-48).

Greek troops with exceptional energy and courage. In the autumn of 328 B.C., Spitamen along with three thousand cavalymen proceeded towards the capital of Sogd. After the battle, in which both sides suffered heavy losses, he had to retreat into the steppe. There the leaders of the nomadic tribes treacherously attacked Spitamen, beheaded him and sent "his head to Alexander so as to divert the danger from themselves" as Arrian says (IV, 17, 7).

The death of Spitamen did not mean the complete victory of the foreign invaders and the subjugation of the Sogdians. The situation in Sogd remained, as before, dangerous for the invaders. Alexander of Macedonia who easily crushed the world empire of the Achaemenids was forced to spend the winter of the years 328-327 B.C. in the unvanquished Sogd.

However, since the autumn of 328 B.C. Alexander, desiring to make the local aristocracy his supporter in the struggle against the rebellious population of Sogd, radically changed his policy towards the nobility and the Zoroastrian priesthood. In 327 B.C., while seizing some mountainous fortifications which were defended by local aristocrats, Oksiart, Sisimitr and Horien, Alexander not only spare them but also gave them back all their property. He started rewarding in money and gifting the property of the rebels, not only to those representatives of the local nobility who helped him but even to those who did not take part in his struggle against the Sogdians. The change in the attitude of Alexander towards the local nobility can be judged by reproaches of the court historian of Alexander, Kallisthenes, quoted by Arrian : "If, as they say, in a barbarian country it is necessary to adopt the barbarian way of thinking, nevertheless I request you — Alexander — to keep in mind Allada for the sake of which this military campaign was undertaken by you with the purpose of uniting Asia to Greece".

Alexander entered into a relationship with the higher social strata of Sogd. He married the daughter of Oksiart — Roxsana (Rokhshanak) who was taken prisoner by him and he brought the relatives of the wife nearer to him. The Sogdian aristocracy, on becoming convinced that Alexander was fighting not against them but only against the people, became his puppet thus selling the

interests of its country to the enemy. Thus, Sisimitr helped Alexander to conquer the Saks tribe by providing him considerable number of troops.

An example of betrayal of the local nobility of the interests of its people is provided by the behaviour of the Sogdian aristocrat, Oksiart. Having become a relative of Alexander he did everything possible in order to help him in subjugating his motherland. In the spring of 325 B.C., when Greek troops left, Bactria revolted against Alexander and seized the fort of Baktra. Oksiart, instead of taking advantage of the favourable situation for the struggle against the invaders, informed Alexander about the happenings. Alexander, who was then in India, immediately took measures to suppress this mutiny and appointed Oksiart as the satrap of the province of Paropamis (the valley of Kabul). When rebellion against the invaders broke out here also, Oksiart himself suppressed it and brutally punished the rebels.

As the invaders had a centralised military power, also because of the betrayal of the local nobility, the revolt of the local Sogdian people was suppressed. The entire territory along the right tributaries of the Amu Darya was seized by the Macedonians. According to the legend Alexander reached the upper reaches of the Zeravshan river which is known as lake Iskandar Kul (the lake of Alexander).

Khwarezm, during the period of conquest of Central Asia by Alexander, could preserve its independence. Arrian narrates that during the stay in Baktras in winter 329-328 B.C., he was visited by the Khwarezmian King Farasman with 1,500 cavalry men who offered to unite against Kolch and Amazons (IV, 15, 1-6).

The ancestors of the Tajik and other peoples of Central Asia defended for three years the independence of their motherland and struggled against the invaders who were creating the great empire. Although they were conquered, however, by their heroic resistance they delivered a heavy blow to Alexander and the military power of his troops was considerably weakened.

The destruction of the Achaemenid state and subjugation of Bactria, Sogd and other Central Asian countries by the Graeco-Macedonian invaders did not improve the lot of the toiling masses

of these countries. The local nobility, which found in the invaders heavy support, intensified the exploitation of the people for both personal enrichment and the interests of the invaders. That is why during the whole period of domination of Macedonian invaders the peoples of Central Asia continuously revolted trying to overthrow the yoke of alien rule.

Collapse of the Empire of Alexander of Macedonia and Results of Macedonian Conquest

Making Babylon the Capital of his new state and preserving the same system of rule as during the Achaemenid period, Alexander tried hard to achieve the unity of the state. Thus in 324 B.C. besides the Greeks, Persians and Bactrians, Sogdians and representatives of the peoples of Central Asia were recruited in the troops. Thirty thousand youngmen from local nobility were armed in the Macedonian style and distributed among the cavalry detachments.

With the purpose of creating the strongholds of Graeco-Macedonian colonization, Alexander built, according to the data of old authors, in Sogd. and Bactria 8-12 cities, the so-called Alexandrias. There are mentioned : Alexandria, Askhata, Alexandria of Areia (Herat), Alexandria on the Oxus (presumably in the region of Termez or Kuliab), Alexandria of Ai-khanum, Alexandria of Bactria (probably Baktras), Alexandria of Margiana (Presently Bairam Ali). In these cities upto twenty thousand infantrymen and three thousand cavalrymen were stationed.

However, all these measures of Alexander of Macedonia could not make his empire a single united entity. It remained an accidental conglomerate of tribes and peoples. Its fragility became known immediately after the death of Alexander (323 B.C.).

The news of death of Alexander evoked the revolt of the exploited population of Asia. Historians of antiquity inform that the "barbarians" after the death of the invader immediately destroyed the Alexandria of Margiana.

After the death of Alexander power fell into the hands of his successors—generals called *diadokhas* (i.e. the heirs and *epigons* (i.e., the heirs of the heirs). Among them, struggle for possessing

the empire broke out, but none of the claimants succeeded in fully capturing the high power. After a fierce battle of the two main groups of *diadokhas* near Ips (301 B.C.) in the Great Frigia which was one of the bloodiest battles of the ancient world, the empire of Alexander was divided into three independent states : Macedonian, Egyptian and Syrian (Seleucids). These states are called in history Hellenistic states.

Other bourgeois historians project the military campaigns of Alexander of Macedonia as a progressive phenomenon and do not indicate that the main purpose of these campaigns of Alexander was expansion of the power of Greece towards the East, increase in trade turnover, exploitation of the peoples of the East and seizure of their wealth. All this was followed by brutal annihilation of local population.

A study of the history of the countries subjugated by the Graeco-Macedonian troops shows that "the Greeks and Macedonians finding themselves alienated in the conquered territory brought there methods of behaviour with the conquered population based on the development of Greek slave-owning society : application of crude force, unrestricted coercion in respect of this population, use of captured people for the sake of profit and their sale and transfer to other places."¹⁸

Noting the influence of the Greek culture on the culture of the East (it was really quite large) many bourgeois historians often keep silent about the cultural achievements of the Eastern peoples. In fact the thousands of years old culture of the East also made a great and many-sided impact on the culture of Greece and other countries of the West.

In the so-called Hellenistic culture, as is known, found reflection not only the "pure" Greek cultural creativity but a peculiar interweaving of the Greek and Eastern cultures. In the development of the Hellenistic culture a leading role belongs to the peoples of Central Asia.

Archaeological findings bring new evidences of the contribution of the peoples of the East, including Central Asia, in

18. Zel'in K.K., Trofimova M.K., 1969, p. 66.

the development of material culture of the Hellenistic world. Some of the main basic principles of the Hellenistic city construction, for example, the Hippodam system of city planning goes back to the ideas developed in the East, long before the epoch of Hellenism.

Central Asian and Iranian religious cultures had a certain influence on the religious views of the Greeks and Romans and later on the development of Christianity also. "In this sphere", writes V. Tarn, "The East took its invader as prisoner; although this movement perhaps did not reach its summit before the Christian era, it continued to grow during the entire Hellenistic period."¹⁹ The influence of the East was reflected in the Greek philosophy, art and literature, etc.

19. Tarn V., 1949, p. 309.

Chapter 5

Graeco-Bactria and Parthia in 3rd-2nd Centuries B.C.

1. Central Asia in the Seleucid State

One of the military commanders of Alexander of Macedonia, Seleucus, was ultimately confirmed in Babylonia 312 B.C. as a satrap. During the following nine years he gradually expanded his power to the West and East including Iran and Central Asia. In some places he acted diplomatically but in Central Asia he met with firm resistance and he had to wage a war. Pompei Trog (Justin XV, 4, 11) informs that Seleucus I "having increased his force by the conquest near Babylonia seized Bactria". Parthia and Sogd were also conquered (Appian, "Syria", 55). However, the attempt of Seleucus to conquer northern India failed.

"The history of Seleucus", wrote the noted Soviet historian of Hellenism, A.B. Ranovich, "presents great difficulties for the historians because of the bad state of literary sources"¹. It is all the more true in the case of Central Asia, the history of which under the Seleucid rule, i.e. at the end of third and middle of second century B.C. is almost not known.

As the state of Seleucus I was extremely large and the affairs in the East demanded constant attention, in 293 B.C. he appointed his son Antiokh as the co-ruler in the East. It may be noted that Antiokh was born of the marriage of Seleucus with Apama, the

1. Ranovich A.B., 1950, p.113.

daughter of Spitamen, and thus Central Asia for Antiokh was to some extent the country of his ancestors.

According to some data, in Central Asia at the beginning of the third century B.C., rebellions against the Seleucid state used to break out. Simultaneously the Central Asian Seleucid empire was also frequently invaded by the nomadic tribes. During these invasions many fortifications of the Seleucid empire were destroyed, in particular. Alexandria of Margiana and Alexandria of Askhata which were founded by Alexander of Macedonia. These cities were later reconstructed by Seleucus and the oasis of Margiana was encircled by a big wall of 250 kilometres in length. Against the trans-Syr Daria nomads a military expedition, under a military commander of Seleucus – Demodam (Plinni, IV, 18, 49) – was sent. Thanks to a series of military, political and diplomatic measures Antiokh succeeded in suppressing the anti-Seleucid movement.²



Coin of Antiokh I

A very interesting information for understanding the eastern policy of Seleucus and the position of his satrap Antiokh is provided by numismatic material,³ analysed in this aspect by B.A. Litvinskii and B.M. Masson.⁴ Being the co-ruler, Antiokh issued the coins as per "Indian" weighing standard. The coins of this

2. ITN, I, p.283.

3. Neuvell E., 1938.

4. ITN, I, pp.283-286; Masson B.M., Romodin B.A., 1964, pp.99-101.

series carry the names of the king Seleucus I himself and his son Antiokh. Perhaps, it was an attempt to assert independence. In any case, after the death of his father in 280 B.C. Antiokh became the ruler and stopped the minting of these coins. Nearly for two decades (280-261 B.C.) the rule of Antiokh I was marked by numerous wars in the west; he gave little attention to the east of his state, in particular to Central Asia. In the meantime the process of strengthening of Central Asia was going on. Here life was beginning to return to normal and agriculture, handicrafts and trade were developing.

Notwithstanding the fact that Central Asia was far from the main centres of the Seleucid empire, it remained the main part of it. The interest of the Seleucids in Central Asia, in both military strategical and economic spheres, can be explained by their construction of new settlements and cities along the trade route, leading from Seleuce on the Tigris to Bactria.⁵

The composition of the dominating class was a mixed one. Along with the Greek satraps and the Greek nobility surrounding them, the representatives of local aristocracy were also included in it. Of course, the Seleucidian authority in Central Asia rested upon the military power in the form of warriors living in Greek settlements – Katoikis. But in the exploitation of the population, the Central Asian representatives of the dominating class, also took part. This class was not united in its attitude to the Seleucid state; draining of wealth of Central Asia beyond its frontiers gave rise to discontentment among those groups which had counted upon “snatching” a large part of it, for themselves. The local population, which was subjected to double exploitation was deeply dissatisfied.

At the same time it would be proper to note that “the period of inclusion of Central Asia in the Seleucid state was the time of restoration of the productive forces of the country which were

5. Fpye R.N., 1963, p.140. The best collection of materials of written, sources about the cities founded in the East by Alexander of Macedonia and the Seleucids is the work : Tsherikower V., 1927. The city-building work of the Seleucids, however, took place mainly not in Central Asia but in the West (Altheim F., 1947-48, p.265).

destroyed by the Graeco-Macedonian invasion and consolidation of the Bactrians, Sogdians and Parthians and other peoples of Central Asia in the struggle against the Seleucids.⁶

Inside the Seleucid state continuous clashes were taking place between the various claimants for power. Some satraps were constantly dreaming of separation and acquiring independence. All this created, particularly in the peripheries, an explosive situation.

2. The Graeco-Bactrian and Parthian State

Early History of Parthia and Graeco-Bactria

During the internecine struggle, between the two brothers (Seleucus II and Antiokh Gieraks), for power in the Seleucid state the Parthians separated from them, under the leadership of Greek Andragor. As an author of antiquity who has given detailed information about the events in Central Asia at that time writes, "It was then that Diodot also separated (from the Seleucids, B.G.) — the ruler of thousands of Bactrian cities and declared himself king; following this example, all peoples of the East broke away. At that time there lived Arshak, a person of unknown origin but of proven courage. He was usually engaged in brigandage and pillage. Having come to know that Seleucus (Seleucus II, B.G.) had been defeated in Asia, he without any fear, with a band of brigands attacked the Parthians and by defeating and killing their ruler Andragor seized power [over the Parthian] people" (Justin, XLI, 1, 4-7).

In this information, about the early history of Graeco-Bactria and Parthia, many things are not clear. First of all, the chronology of events, when the separation of Graeco-Bactria took place? The first researcher of this problem Russian academician F. Baier (1738) and many others after him, have analysed in detail the texts constantly draw attention to the fact that these texts, including the one by Justin, have several discrepancies⁷, quite likely, the events

6. ITN, I., p.289.

7. For analysis of this see : Narain A.K., 1962, p.16.

related to Diodot took place a little earlier, approximately in 256 B.C. which are linked to Arshak in around 250 B.C.

Even more complicated is the main question about the character of the events which took place at that time. There are two view points in history. British scholars G. Macdonald and W. Tarn are of the view that the appearance of the monogram, with the first letter of the name of Diodot on the coins of the Seleucids, issued in Bactria testify to the gradual and slow rise of power and independence of this satrap, who at last became actually independent⁸. However, as Indian scholar A. Narain thinks, such monograms usually signify the mint or the person supervising the issue of the coins. In the case of expression of independence of one or the other satrap his full name is mentioned⁹. There are also other hypotheses. Till now the meaning of monograms on the Graeco-Bactrian coins, strictly speaking, cannot be ascertained¹⁰. At the same time it is characteristic, that there is a whole series of coins of the Seleucid type where in place of the portrait of the Seleucid king there is the portrait of Diodot. Some historians think that it is not the same Diodot as the one we are talking about but his son. However, there is no serious basis for such a view.



Coin of Diodot

8. Tarn W.W., 1951, pp.72-74.

9. Narain A.K., 1962, p.15.

10. Curiel R. and Fussman G., pp. 68-70.

Thus the data of coins cannot be the basis for the hypothesis of Macdonald and Tarn. Besides, this hypothesis rejects the direct and clear information given by Justin that Diodot, "separated" from the Seleucid state, i.e., revolted against the Central state power and founded his own state.

Our concept of the events, over which not much light has been thrown in the sources, has been given in the "History of the Tajik People" (1955). It is believed that in Bactria the Seleucid satraps had considerable Greek military forces. Using these forces and taking support from the local Hellenised Bactrian Sogdian nobility, which also strove for separation from the Seleucids, Diodot led the movement which resulted in the separation of Bactria from the Seleucids. Undoubtedly, in this movement popular masses, struggling against the double yoke and for independence, also took part¹¹.

It is difficult to say as to what the size of this new state was. Strabo (XI, 9, 2) has a story supplementing the one mentioned above. According to him the Greek satraps (meaning the subordinates and accomplices of Diodot) "First of all persuaded Bactriana and the nearby country to revolt". We do not have any more concrete information. This could be Sogdiana (as some scholars think), Areia and/or Margiana (this is also quite likely).

The early history of the Graeco-Bactrian state is closely interwoven with the history of the Parthian kingdom. Justin directly says that Arshak "was afraid" of Diodot – the king of Bactria (XI, 1,4, 8). Strabo (XI, 9,3) gives a version that Arshak was a Bactrian who "in order to save himself from the rising power of Diodot and his successors staged a revolt in Parthia".

Diodot I, who probably ruled for not very long, was succeeded by his son Diodot II. Numismatists cannot come to the conclusion as to which coins, with the portrait of Diodot, relate to Diodot I and which ones to Diodot II¹². It is also not clear as to how the Parthian Kingdom came into existence. The sources of antiquity contain three different versions about the early period of Parthian

11. For the other view see : Bickerman E., 1966, p.89 (note 13) 91-93.

12. Curiel R. and Fussman S., 1965, pp.63-65; Lahiri A.N. 1965, pp.110-114, 265.

history. In the words of N. Debevoise, author of the best work on the political history of Parthia, “(the ancient, B.G.) Greeks did not know anything about the historicity of these informations)”¹³.

It is likely that in the middle of the third century B.C. the satrap of Parthia tried to separate from the Seleucids. At this time Bactria fell apart from the Seleucids. According to some sources the power in Parthia was seized by Arshak. According to Strabo (XI, 9, 3; XI, 9, 2) he originated from the nomads Dakhs (or Parns-Dakhs); “others on the contrary”, continues Strabo, “consider him as a Bactrian who in order to save himself from the rising power of Diodot and his successors raised a rebellion in Parthia”. Justin informs (XLI, 1, 4, 6) that Arshak – “a person of unknown origin but of proven courage” attacked the satrap of Parthia, defeated him and “seized power over the Parthian people”. Lastly, the third and (more detailed version) is given by Arrian (“Parfika”, fr.1). Two brothers, Arshak and Tiridat were humiliated by the satrap of the Seleucids. They took five accomplices and murdered him and persuaded people to revolt.

We can agree with the view of N. Debevoise¹⁴ that without any additional source it is impossible to tell as to which of these versions is correct¹⁵.

“In the beginning Arshak was exhausted from the continuous wars with the people whose lands he had seized...” (Strabo, XI, 9, 2). He died shortly afterwards. The following Parthian Kings are called in the sources not by their own names but “Arshaks” and the dynasty itself as the “Arshakid”.

In his place came his brother Tiridat¹⁶ “After some time Arshak (i.e. Tiridat I, B.G.) seized the Girkan kingdom also. Thus,

13. Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp.9-10.

14. Ibid., p.10.

15. On the question of emergence and early history of Parthia many historians in our country and abroad have been working (A.G. Bokshanin, G.A. Koshelenko, M.E. Masson, I. Volskii, J.I. Ride and others). However, neither the chronology nor the content of the events that took place in the III century B.C., have been finally determined and explained.

16. Thus we don't accept the opinion of I. Volski (Volski I., 1947, p.222) and G.A. Koshelenko (Koshelenko G.A., 1968, pp.64-65) about the legendary

having become the ruler of the two states, Arshak collected a large army, fearing Seleucus as well as Diodot, the king of Bactria" (Justin XLI, 4, 8).

It is important to note that the two newly formed states were in a state of serious conflict. Perhaps each one of them initially pretended to hegemony in Central Asia. The Parthian ruler feared Diodot I in the beginning but not less than the Seleucids. However, after the death of Diodot the situation changed. Apparently the expansionist efforts of the Seleucids, which endangered the independence of both Central Asian states, played a decisive role in changing the mutual relations between Parthia and Graeco-Bactria. After the death of Diodot I his son Diodot II concluded a peace agreement with Parthia (Justin XLI, 4, 8-9). The Seleucid king Seleucus II sent his troops to the east in an attempt to annex the Central Asian regions. But it appeared that the nut was too hard to crack. The Parthians, having secured their rear formations, were able to repulse the Seleucids. It is true that in the beginning Tiridat I had to retreat in the direction of Apasiaks, to the nomads living towards the north of Parthia, but afterwards he returned and defeated Seleucus II.

We mentioned above about the external political objectives of the Parthian-Graeco-Bactrian union. Perhaps through this union Diodot II tried to strengthen his internal political position also as the situation in his kingdom was not good.

His opponent Evtidem, an Asia Minor Greek by origin and who had seized power through a coup was acquiring more and more important role. There was an opinion that he was a brother of Diodot, but it is hardly probable. More probable is the surmise that he occupied, even before the coup, a high position in the Graeco-Bactrian state. But it is not known as to what kind of position was held by him. Some are of the view that initially he was satrap of Sogdiana while according to others he was Satrap of Areia and Margiana. However, there is no serious basis for these conjectures.

Polibii (XI, 34, 2-3) puts into the mouth of Evtidem the following words: "I am not the first to rebel against the king; on

character of Tiridat. The data of Nisii Archives (Diakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960 a, pp.20-21) testify the existence of Tiridat.

the contrary I attained the sway over Bactriana by annihilating the successors of several other betrayers". It follows from this that Evtidem annihilated the successors of Diodot I, i.e., obviously Diodot II himself and his children and also probably killed the successors of the accomplices of Diodot I.

W. Tarn believes that the coup of Evtidem had "public support" because the union (of Diodot II, B.G.) with Parthia could not be popular among Bactrian Greeks and because Evtidem acted in the interests of Seleucids¹⁷. W. Tarn thinks that Evtidem was married to the daughter of the Seleucid princess and that is why he considered himself bound by all kinship relations with the Seleucids. But all these are mere conjectures.

Little is known about the actual state of further events, of the rule of Evtidem. One can only guess that having eliminated Diodot II he aggravated the relations with Parthia. It could have resulted in an armed conflict. As the following account shows, during the rule of Evtidem, the Graeco-Bactrian state already included Areia, Margiana and perhaps two other regions — Aspion and Turiva. Thus his Central Asian dominions were quite large. Its nucleus remained Bactria. Sogd and perhaps some other adjacent regions were also included in it.

The Struggle against Seleucid Expansion

Information contained in sources takes us to the last decade of the third century B.C. By this time Parthia had become a powerful state. Tiridat expanded the frontiers, of the Parthian kingdom, by joining in it some territories in Iran and by building some fortifications and increasing his army. But he died in 211 B.C. approximately after a reign of 37 years. His son Artaban I ascended the throne after his death.

During these years the Seleucids again gained their power. The Seleucid king Antiokh III tried to restore his authority over all the Seleucid dominions in the East. According to, probably exaggerated information, of Justin (XLI, 5, 7) with a large army of 100 thousand infantry, 20 thousand cavalry men Antiokh III

17. Tarn W.W., 1951, p. 74.

proceeded further¹⁸. The Parthians fought courageously but had to yield before the superior forces of the enemy. They lost a part of their territory and were forced to sign a treaty of alliance with the Seleucids¹⁹.

The road to the frontiers of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was open. Polibii writes about further developments. The advance cavalry (10 thousand strong) included in the army of Evtidem were moved by him to the river Arei (Herirud). Their task was to prevent the Seleucid troops from crossing the river. This crossing was guarded at day time, but in the night the cavalry moved away from Arei leaving the sentry posts. Coming to know of it Antiokh III brought his troops to the river, under cover of night, and succeeded in sending across the river a major part of his forces. On receiving this intelligence the Bactrian cavalry rushed to the river. Antiokh III personally led his troops. The Bactrian cavalry inflicted consecutive blows by three echelons and as result there was a large casualty on both sides. The sources record the effectiveness of the attacks by the Bactrian cavalry.

When the second and third Bactrian troops started their attacks, Seleucid troops, as Polibii writes, "started giving up under heavy onslaught of the enemy." But Antiokh III brought into the battle the military reserves while the main part of the Bactrian troops stayed at quite a distance. As a result the Seleucid troops won and only a small part of the Bactrian cavalry followed by the enemy reached the main forces, led by Evtidem himself. He was forced to retreat to Zariaspa-Bactras under cover of the strong fort walls (Polibii X, 49, 1-15).

In the preserved text of Polibii there is a large gap. Thereafter the final events of the seizure of Bactras are narrated. Long negotiations were held between the two enemies. His proposals for peace were thus analysed by Evtidem : "On the frontier are standing large hordes of cavalymen threatening both of us. If the barbarians cross the frontier the country will probably be

18. M.E. Masson wrongly wrote that this large army belonged to Artaban I (Masson M.E., 1955 b, p.11). But actually this figure is related to the army of Antiokh III.

19. For details see Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp.14-18.

conquered by them". As follows from the text of Polibii the Seleucid king also saw the futility of the siege and longed for a mutually acceptable solution. The negotiations lasted long. For their completion Evtidem sent to the camp of Antiokh III his son Demetrii. "The king (Antiokh III, B.G.) received him with love and found that the youngman, by his appearance and excellent behaviour, deserved a royal status and hence offered him the hand of one of his daughters, and agreed to recognize his father's title of king. The other conditions were included in a written agreement and an alliance was concluded on oath. After providing his troops the abundant food supplies and taking the elephants of Evtidem with him, Antiokh departed from the place" (Polibii XI, 34, 1-11).

About the conditions of the agreement more details are not known. Only one thing is clear : by presenting gifts to Antiokh III and in particular by giving war elephants, Evtidem in any case, preserved the independence of Graeco-Bactria. It was possible because of the courage and unity of the defenders of Bactras whose determination for victory could not be broken by the long siege.

One detail of the account given by Polibii, however, cannot escape attention. The striking force of Evtidem was the Bactrian cavalry — those ten thousand of Bactrian cavalrymen who bore the first blow of the Seleucid troops and nearly defeated them in the first battle. In the opinion of W. Tarn the numerical strength of the Bactrian cavalry is explained by the fact that as a result of some internal political measures of Evtidem the Bactrian aristocracy was drawn into the governance of the state²⁰. In fact, it is impossible to imagine the assignment of such a responsible task to the Bactrian cavalry and above all to understand the character of its actions in the war without recognising that the Bactrian aristocracy was vitally interested in repulsing the Seleucid threat²¹.

Ending the siege of Bactras, Antiokh III proceeded to the south. Crossing the Hindukush he entered India, "where he renewed his friendly alliance with the Indian king Sofagasen",

20. Tarn W., 1950, pp.124-125, 410.

21. Compare the effort to put this assumption under doubt (Tolstov S.P., 1940, p.199).

(thus Polibii, XI, 34, 11, gives the name of one of the kings of the Maurya dynasty, Subhaganasena). The Indian campaign of Antiokh III was an unsuccessful attempt to capture a part of the territory of the then already weak Maurya state. At the same time it showed to the Graeco-Bactrian rulers the possible direction of their further expansion.

Blossoming of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom

The expansion of the frontiers of Graeco-Bactrian kingdom towards India was implemented by son of Evtidem, Demetrii. Justin (XLI, 6,4) calls him "the king of Inds". Strabo (XI, 11, 1) tells about the conquest of Demetrii and another king Menandra in India. In the travel book of Isidor Harak the city of Demetrii, in Arahazia, is mentioned.

The coins with the name of Demetrii are of different types. The king on these coins is depicted either with a diadem or a helmet in the shape of head of an elephant. The face of the king is also different. On some coins there is Greek inscription and on others Greek and Indian (in Kharoshti). On the coins carrying bilingual inscriptions, around the portrait of the king on the front side is inscribed – "King Demetrii the invincible,"²². On the basis of differences in coins some scholars suppose that there were two kings with the name of Demetrii, but others categorically deny this. So far this question has not been solved finally. In any case Demetrii (or some other king with this name) considerably expanded the frontiers of Graeco-Bactria in the south. The appearance of bilingual inscriptions and of the helmet in the shape of the head of an elephant can be explained by the fact of inclusion in his state of some territories of ancient Gandhara (presently north-western Pakistan).

On the basis of Indian tradition Indian scholar A.N. Lahiri comes to the conclusion that Demetrii intruded into India during the reign of a weak ruler of Maurya dynasty (Brihandratha). It happened around 185 B.C. Following R. Whitehead, A.N. Lahiri surmises that it was not an enduring conquest but a prolonged

22. About this see : Bivar A.D., 1951, pp.22-39; Masson V.M., 1961, pp.40-41; Curiel R., and Fussman C., 1955, pp.75-76.

military raid during which Graeco-Bactrian troops, penetrated deep into the territory of the Maurya state. It had great effect on the Orient which resulted in the appearance of the epithet “king of Inds” in relation to Demetrios in the account given by Justin. “The direct result of this expedition was not big. It merely paved the way for later Greek (Graeco-Bactrian, B.G.) invasions and occupation of the territory of north-western India.” In the opinion of A.N. Lahiri, having reached Pataliputra and after defeating the troops of Brihandratha, Demetrios shortly returned to Bactria — the fight with Evkratid the Great was awaiting him²³. This sober, and based on facts, analysis of Lahiri appears to be convincing.

When Demetrios was preoccupied by his campaign in India, there appeared on the stage of Graeco-Bactrian history another big figure of Evkratid.

About this Justin writes: “Almost at the same time there appeared two kings, Mitridat in Parthia and Evkratid in Bactria. Both were great men. But the fate was more favourably disposed towards the Parthians and led them under this ruler to the zenith of their power. The Bactrians waging one war after another lost not only their kingdom but also independence; exhausted by the wars with the Sogdians, Arahots, Drangs, Areias and Inds they were finally conquered by weak Parthians. However, Evkratid fought these numerous wars with great courage; and already weakened by them he had to bear the siege by Demetrios the king of the Inds, he (Demetrios) with the help of three hundred warriors defeated sixty thousand — strong enemy by constant raids. Having restored his independence after five months of siege he conquered India”. (XLI 6, 1-5).

Strabo (XV, 1, 3) citing the “Parthian history” of Apollodor writes that the Graeco-Bactrian kings “conquered even larger part of India than the Macedonians.... Other writers affirm that under his power “were nine tribes and five thousand cities.” Strabo (XI, 9, 2) informs that the Parthians “also seized a part of Bactria by driving away the Scythians and even earlier Evkratid and his supporters.” Enumerating the Bactrian cities, Strabo (XI, 2) points

23. Lahiri A.N. 1957, pp.40-49.

out the city of Evkratidia "thus named after its ruler" and further writes that "The satrapies of Aspion and Turiva were taken away by Parthians from Evkratid".

Such is the data provided by the written sources. Besides, there are many coins of Evkratid. They have been found in large quantity in Central Asia, also. Thus in the Kashka Daria region, near Kitab, was found a treasure of about one hundred Graeco-Bactrian coins.

The bulk of these coins are from the mint of Evkratid. Similar coins of Evkratid were also discovered on the territory of Tajikistan; for example near the settlement of Pyanj in Kuliab region and other places.



Coins of Graeco-Bactrian rulers

Mention may be made of the coins carrying on the front side a portrait of Evkratid and an inscription "the great king Evkratid" and on the other side two profiles — one of a female (with diadem) and of a male (without diadem) in the background and an inscription "Geliokl and Laodika". As these names are in the possessive case many contradictory explanations have appeared. It should be read as following: "of the great king Evkratid [children] Geliokl and Laodika", "of the great king Evkratid's parents Geliokl and Laodika", or on the reverse side are depicted the son of Evkratid and his wife — the princess (hence she is

wearing a crown). A majority of scholars admit that here the parents of Evkratid are depicted in particular, his mother — the princess by which he wanted to legitimize his actions and ascension to the throne²⁴. We think it is necessary to accept this explanation and reject the concept of W. Tarn which was subjected to critical analysis in the Soviet literature.

On the basis of the data of written sources and coins given above we can draw a hypothetical sketch of the events of the reign of Evkratid the Great.²⁵

While Demetrii was in India, one of the representatives of Greek aristocracy, Evkratid, whose mother Laodika was of royal origin, organized an uprising on the territory of Bactira.

It happened almost simultaneously with the ascension to the Parthian throne of Mitridat I, i.e. about 171 B.C. In the seizure of power Evkratid was helped by the fact that at this time the main contingents of Graeco-Bactrian troops were taken away by Demetrii to India. After taking power he took the title "Soter" ("Saviour"), implying that he "saved" Bactria from Demetrii. The information about seizure of power might have reached Demetrii and he probably sent considerable forces for putting down the rebels.

The numerical advantage was on the side of Demetrii. The small army of Evkratid was besieged and his situation seemed to be hopeless because the besieging force had a strength of sixty thousand soldiers and he had a very small force. Continuously attacking the enemy and carrying out raids with three hundred warriors and displaying utmost courage and thanks to chaos in the camp of the enemy about which the source perhaps does not inform, Evkratid could crush the superior forces of Demetrii. Having ascended the throne he took the title of "the King, the Great Evkratid" and issued a series of coins on which his parents were depicted. Coins with the name of Evkratid were issued in bulk. They had a large circulation in Bactria and were perhaps still

24. Grigoriev V.V., 1867 a, p.343; Narain A.K., 1962, pp.55-56.

25. Our understanding of these events is close to the sketch of A.K. Narain although it differs in some moments and does not have anything common with the concept of W. Tarn.

in circulation after the death of Evkratid. Their imitation was issued later also after the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

After strengthening his power in Bactria, Evkratid started the conquest of Indian possessions of Demetrii and even expanded their frontiers. It was believed that he conquered one thousand conquered cities.

Everything was not smooth in the career of Evkratid. Two western provinces of the Gaeco-Bactrian kingdom were lost by him. They were seized by the powerful Parthian king Mitridat I along with other border territories.²⁶

Having completed the conquest of the north Indian territories Evkratid proceeded towards Bactria. As Justin writes (XLI, 6, 5), "on his way back from his military expedition Evkratid was killed by his son whom he had earlier made his co-ruler. The son did not even try to conceal the killing of his father, as if he did not kill his father but an enemy. He drove the chariot on his father's corpse and ordered it to be thrown without a burial." These tragic events at the end of the reign of Evkartid took place in about 155 B.C.²⁷

A contemporary and rival of Evkratid, Parthian king Mitridat (171-138/7 B.C.) achieved great success in expanding the frontiers of his kingdom. In a fierce struggle against local rulers and the Seleucids he occupied western Iran and incorporated Midia and Mesopotamia into Parthia. The kingdom of Parthia gradually became one of the most powerful states of the world.

The situation was different in Graeco-Bactria. From the middle of the second century B.C. starts the decline of its political power. The large state occupying the massive regions of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India disintegrated. Separate rulers, successors of Diodot, Evtidem and Evkratid and also powerful aristocrats not belonging to these royal families captured power and minted coins in their names. Obviously in Bactria and Sogd in

26. The information given by Orosii (V, 4, 16) about the conquest of Mitridat I does not necessarily relate to India (Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp.56-57).

27. According to Narain, Evkratid had two sons — Platon and Geliokl (not to be confused with Geliokl — father of Evkratid). The killer of father is called Platon by him (Narain A.K., 1962, pp.71-72).

the second half of the second century B.C. Antimakh was the ruler who acquired the title "Teos" (god). Among the Indo-Greeks a great role was played by Menandr, who seized Indian dominions, probably immediately following the death of Evkratid²⁸. According to the Buddhist traditions he was an extremely wise king. His measures helped the state to prosper. It is believed that the information provided by the Buddhist sources about adoption of Buddhism is true.

At the end of third century B.C., during the reign of Evtidem confederations of nomadic tribes created a real threat to the northern dominions of the Graeco-Bactrians. In later half of the second century B.C. the nomadic world of the northern parts of Central Asia was like a stormy sea, the waves of which now and then swept the Graeco-Bactrian shores, inundating the coastal area. Before the coming storm, the conquerors of the Seleucid and Parthian kings the successors of powerful Mitridat I, were trembling.

3. The Internal System, Economy and Culture of Central Asia in Third – Second Centuries B.C.

The Graeco – Bactrian Kingdom

The extreme scarcity of historical sources does not provide the possibility to characterise the state establishment and social system in Graeco-Bactria, in detail. During the reign of strong rulers the state had centralisation to some extent, probably imitating, in many ways, the Seleucid state. Plutarch narrates an anecdote about Seleucus having supposedly told many times that "if the majority had known how much labour is necessary only to write and read so many letters diadems would have been lying scattered on earth and no one would have picked them up." As Soviet historian of Hellenism A.B. Ranovich writes, "according to the data obtained from inscriptions it is clear that the government of the Seleucids conducted a vast correspondence, composing orders and decrees on most varied affairs, appointing

28. Narain A.K., 1962, pp.76-77.

judges and arbiters for small law suits of the cities, organising colonies entering into diplomatic correspondence with other states and maintaining constant links with its own cities, the cities of Greece, with temples and common Greek shrines.”²⁹ The Graeco-Bactrian state apparatus was probably not as developed, ramified and centralised as that of the Seleucids. At the helm of the state stood the king. Sometimes the king’s son was his co-ruler. The state was divided into satrapies.

From “*Milinda-Panha*”³⁰ we learn that in the kingdom of Menandra, i.e, in the Indian part of Graeco-Bactria there were six court noblemen : the supreme chief of the army, the first minister, chief judge, chief of the treasury, the carrier of parade umbrella and the carrier of parade sword. Besides them the “lord of the settlement” is also mentioned.



Capital in the Corinthian Style — Ai-Khanum

As has been rightly noted (*Milinda-Panha* IV, 1, 36) by K.V. Trever, “An analysis of all this terminology and comparison of the

29. Ranovich A.B., 1950, p.140.

30. “*Milinda-Panha*” is a work written in second century B.C. in Pali language in the form of dialogue on philosophical topics between Graeco-Indian king Menandra (Indian Milinda) and Indian scholar Nagasena.

instructions of "Milinda-Panha" with the data in other sources can to some extent throw light on the social aspect of the state of Menandra. For Bactria and other regions connected with it the sources do not give such information."³¹

A great role was played by the army which was recruited, both from Greeks and from local population, in particular, from Bactrians. The Bactrians provided the army with contingents of cavalry. The king probably had his personal guards. War elephants increased the attacking force of the army.

There are several data about military organisation of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The main role in the army was played by the cavalry and infantry. In the art relics available to us and written sources it is mentioned that in the army of Bactria there were detachments of war elephants on whose backs armed warriors were seated. Elephants were inducted into the battle, probably at its height.

Justin (XLI, 4, 5) called Diodot "the ruler of a thousand Bactrian cities". Strabo (XV, 1, 3) informs that Evkratid had under him one thousand cities. These writers probably had in mind not only Bactria itself, but the larger territory of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom including northern India. However, the figure of "thousand" is an exaggeration. At the same time it must be kept in mind that the basis for this exaggeration was a wide development of cities and urban life in Bactria.

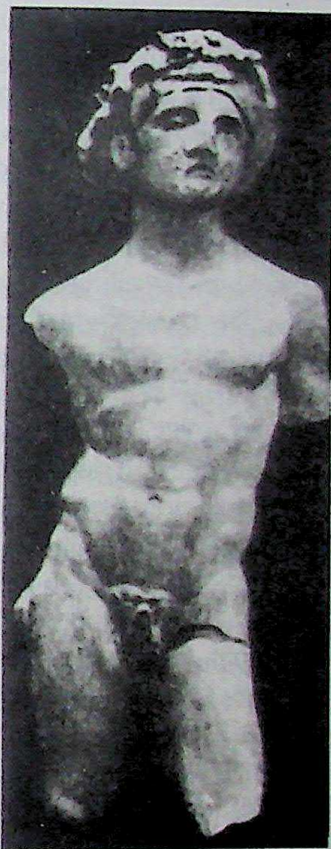
The Bactrian (as also Sogdian) cities can be divided into three groups by their origin. In the first group must be included the old cities that emerged in the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid period. Among them there is a capital and largest city of Bactria — Baktra; the city which existed in the lower part of Kafirnigan (now the settlement Kala-i-Mir); the capital of Sogd — Markanda and others. The cities of the second group emerged in the period of Graeco-Macedonian invasion or that of the Seleucids. In the third group there are cities which emerged directly in the period of

31. Trever K.V., 1940, p.19. The attempt of W. Tarn to find in the text of this source an indication of the existence of a royal council consisting of 500 persons (Tarn W., 1950, p. 267, 418) has evoked strong and apparently valid objections from A.K. Narain (Narain A.K., 1962, p.167-168).

Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Among the cities of the second and third groups were the cities founded by Alexander of Macedonia (for example, Alexandria Askhata) or by the successive Greek rulers (for example, the city of Evkratidei in Bactria) as well as the cities that emerged without interference of the royal power.

About the internal system of urban life of Bactrian (and Sogdian) cities we know little. However, the following epigraphical discoveries possibly show some phenomena characteristic of Parthian and Seleucid cities, in particular, some forms of city self-rule were taking place.

A description of one of the large cities of the Graeco-Bactrian or the later period is given in "Milinda-Panha". In it there is an information on the basis of which it can be concluded that the handicraft industry was highly developed. Thus in the city mentioned in Milinda-Panha there were experts who made articles from gold, silver, zinc, tin, copper, bronze and iron. There were potters, tanners, tent makers, comb makers, spinners, cotton blowers, basket makers, experts of making bows, masons, gold washers, cooks, bath attendants, butchers, traders of wine, flowers, etc. "Milinda-Panha" mentions that among the local population there were quite a number of traders of broadcloth



**Hellenistic Sculptures
Ai-Khanum**

and different foodstuffs³². From all this we can infer that both handicrafts and trade were mainly concentrated in the hands of local population.

The capital of Bactria was considered to be the pivot of the Graeco-Bactrian kings. Here they collected forces for invasion of neighbouring countries, particularly India.

The location of the capital city of Bactra does not give rise to doubt; it was situated about 20 kilometers from the present day Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sharif. But on the place, where ancient Bactra was situated, life continued all through the mediaeval times though with some interruptions when there was a big city of Balkh. Hence ancient layers were overlapping by later layers which complicates archaeological research. The nucleus of Bactra of the Graeco-Bactrian period was the modern city of Bala-Hissar ("high fortress"). It was oval-shaped and had an area of 120 hectares. French scholars D. Schlumberger and Le Berre have succeeded in revealing the construction of the walls of ancient Balkh. The strength of these walls was astounding. In their foundation they measure 31 metres in width. The walls had several lines of arrow-shaped loopholes and researchers believe that it cannot be ruled out that fortifications helped the defenders of Bactra to stand the siege of the huge army of Antiokh III. Bactra during the Graeco-Bactrian period was obviously not confined to the territory of Bala-Hissar.³³

In 1964-1965 French archaeologists started excavations at the settlement Ai-Khanum. It is located in Afghanistan on the bank of river Pyanj where the Kokcha daria falls into it. The huge settlement has the shape of a triangle. Its two kilometer long foundation is adjacent to Pyanj. The other side (1.5 kilometer) borders upon Kockhadaria. The north-western part of the settlement adjacent to Pyanj river is situated lower than the south-eastern part, which is considerably higher. The excavations at Ai-Khanum have yielded important results. Here parts of large constructions have been unearthed the characteristic feature of which is the wide use of Hellenistic planning charts and building

32. "The questions of King Milinda", 1894.

33. Le Berre M. and Schlumberger D., 1964.

details. Constructions are made from stones, raw and baked bricks. Stone columns, pilasters, and stone details of the ceiling match the walls made of raw bricks. The parts of stone architecture are made in Corinthian order and exactly correspond with the Hellenistic standards. Here Hellenistic sculptures, ceramic jewelry and other articles are found as also the Greek burial places and epitaphs. The entire material including the discoveries of coins testify that Ai-Khanum is Graeco-Bactrian.

City of third-second centuries B.C. in which elements of Graeco-Hellenistic culture as well as the Greek element itself in composition of the population played an extremely important role.³⁴ We do not know yet the name of one of these largest Greek cities. Maybe this is one of the Alexandrias or the Antiokhies and may be this is Evkratideia. Only one thing is clear: this city undoubtedly existed in the Selucidian and Greco-Bactrian period and was one of the main centres of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom.

Interestingly, on the other (Soviet) bank of the river Pyanj, on the territory of the Parkhar region, archeologists have discovered and are excavating the other main monument Saksan-Okhur, from the end of the Graeco-Bactrian period. It is situated seven kilometers to the north of the present-day district center Parkhar. The entire area of the settlement was about five hectares. Excavations on this site have revealed a colony of artisans with furnaces for baking ceramics and terracottas and a palace-temple complex. The center of this complex is a square yard (27.7 X 27.7 meters). It is enclosed from three sides by a round-about corridor. On one side of the yard there is a deep four column *aiwan* (gallery). At the interior of the *aiwan* there is a passage leading to the circular corridor. In the side-wings of the *aiwan* there are small rooms. Towards the axis of the *aiwan* but opposite it there is a large rectangular hall the ceiling of which is supported by two columns.

Adjacent to this hall was a rectangular elongated room for offerings. The hall and this room were encircled by a corridor linked with the main circular corridor.

34. See the initial information: Schlumberger D., 1965-1966; Bernard P., 1967a, 1967, 1968a, 1968, 1969.

Along with the western segment of the circular corridor there are eight rooms forming three separate cells. The most interesting is the northern one, which included a square room with pilasters and columns. Here most precious things were found including a gold trefoil.

The walls of the building are massive, narrow rooms are covered by domes and large ones (square-shaped and rectangular) by ceilings resting on columns. The thresholds of the main rooms are made of exquisitely decorated stone tiles. The *aiwan* (gallery) was decorated by high stone columns the complex bases of which were standing on two-stepped pedestal. Particularly impressive were the capitals built in Corinthian order.

The two-columned hall beyond the *aiwan*, along with the adjacent room with the fire sanctuary, was probably the cult centre of the complex and the three part cell mentioned above served as the reception hall and palace chapel. The construction of the complex dates from the second century B.C.³⁵

On the territory of Tajikistan, in the Graeco-Bactrian times there were many other urban settlements. Such, for example, is the site of Kei-Kabad-shah near the present day district centre Kabodiyon. In plan, it is rectangular (285 X 315 meters). Massive wall with protruding right-angled towers surrounds it on all sides. The wall is made of *pakhsa* raw bricks with merlons at the top. Inside the city several square and rectangular rooms have been dug out, the walls of which are covered with white plaster. Kei-Kabad-shah did not contain a citadel.

Not far away from this settlement there was another one inside the same district center, at the present site of Kala-i-Mir. Here, during excavations a copper foundry, a large number of household articles and coins were found.³⁶ A special place, among the archaeological monuments of Tajikistan, is occupied by Kukhna-Kala (to the south of Kolkhojabad). It is a bit smaller than Kei-Kabad-shah and consists of two parts: the main rectangular and the other one in irregular form is adjacent to it. The site is located at a strategically convenient place on the precipice of the terrace of the

35. Litvinskii B.A. and Mukhitdinov Kh., 1969.

36. D'iakonov M.M., 1953, p. 272 and next; 1959, pp. 57-66.

Vaksh. Inside the walls a compact construction was going on which represented a combination of mutually connected corridor-type rooms with different in size, rectangular and square, premises.

As the excavations show, Kukhna-Kala's construction was not complete. Maybe it was being built at the end of the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the onslaught of the nomads did not allow completion of its construction.

Kukhna-Kala as well as Kei-Kabad-shah allows us to reconstruct ancient Bactrian fortification. Closely built rectangular towers represented powerful military installations. Special projections — pilasters covered their surface as well as the surface of the walls. Lines of loopholes were both actual and fictitious. The entrance was strengthened by special installation and high tower before it.³⁷

As is known Samarkand and Sogd suffered heavily from Macedonian invasions. Nevertheless, here life was gradually coming back to normal and further development had taken place. In particular considerable achievements were made in ceramic production. In general, the handicrafts in this period attained considerable growth. Along with the products of the local craftsmen, the products of the Hellenic craftsmen were also available in the market. A mutual enrichment of culture took place, which helped further rise in quality and level of local handicrafts which in turn considerably influenced the handicrafts of the entire Hellenic East. All these processes are noticeable in the production of ceramics and in construction activities.

In agriculture, too, significant results were achieved. Old sources provide much information about the favourable natural conditions in Bactria. Grains were produced here (it was considered that the grains produced locally were of a big size) in particular rice was grown, there were orchards and vineyards and cattle breeding was quite developed. Undoubtedly in Bactria and Sogd there was a network of irrigation canals. Above, while examining the political history, we referred to coins many times. In the present (1970) the text of "Ino-Greek coins" composed by

37. Litvinskii B.A., 1956a; Kuzmina E.E. and Pevzner S.B., 1956.

Indian scholar A.N. Lahiri³⁸ is the most comprehensive and systematic survey. Lahiri did not use collections in the Soviet museums and publications on this topic. Graeco-Bactrian kings minted coins from gold, silver and copper. Besides, there were coins of alloy of copper and nickel. Many silver Graeco-Bactrian coins have survived.

The front side of these coins usually depicted the portrait of the king and on the other side that of a deity (Apollo, Artemida, Afina, Demetr, Dioskur, Hekat, Gelios, Heracle, Zevs, Nika, Posidon). These Hellenistic deities, as A.N. Lahiri writes, "sometimes carried features characteristic of their Eastern counterparts – doubles".

On the early Graeco-Bactrian coins the inscription included only the king's title and the name of the king. Evkretid was the first who introduced the epithet "Great" on the coins and Antimakh started calling himself "God". During Evkretid's reign bilingual inscriptions on the coins appeared for the first time. The Greek legend usually depicted, on the back side, was shifted to the front side and on the back side there appears the literal Prakrit translation in Kharosthi script. In some cases, however, the inscription did not coincide. On the copper coins of the two later Indo-Greek rulers the other Indian script Brahmi³⁹ was used.

The question of weight standard of the Graeco-Bactrian coins is quite complicated. A part of Graeco-Bactrian coins fits into the weight-scheme based on the Greek-Attic system with the weight of gold units equal to 132 grains, i.e., 8.2 grams. Exactly the same is the weight of the gold coins of Diodot I and II, Evtidem I and Evkretid. However, Graeco-Bactrian coins, not always and in all respects, followed the Attic weight standard. The other weight systems were also used. Their origin and economic effect of their use are subject of discussion.⁴⁰

The abundance of Graeco-Bactrian coins undisputably prove the existence of developed trade exchange. Judged by latest archaeological findings the international trade was widespread, in

38. Lahiri A.N., 1965, p. 27.

39. Lahiri A.N., 1965, pp. 38-42, 256-282.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.

particular, in the Hellenistic world. At the same time the coins were used for internal trade as well. This is supported by written sources, also. Foreign observers noted that the Bactrians are "skillful in trade". In Bactras there existed a very big bazar.⁴¹

The information about spiritual culture is scattered and fragmentary in character. But even then it is evident that Graeco-Bactria was one of the cultural centres of that world. On the territory of Bactria there existed highly developed original-centuries old culture. Extremely fruitful was the contact of the Bactrian civilization with the richest culture of India and also with the Hellen culture and Hellenistic East.

A very high level of development was attained by the Graeco-Bactrian art. Its most knowledgeable expert K.V. Trevor wrote about coins of the Graeco-Bactrian kings: "... the depiction of the kings on the Graeco-Bactrian coins is distinguished by great skill. The stamps for them were made by renowned artists who were able to reflect in miniature depiction the realistic portrait not just expressing the individual traits of the person but also throwing light in some small details on the characteristic peculiarities of one or another person". In her opinion, in the cities of Bactria, there ought to have been the statues by the remarkable Greek sculptor Lisipp — the author of widespread sculptural portraits of Alexander of Macedonia. His creations were distinguished by great realism. Hellenistic sculpture of third century BC was developing under the influence of Lisipp and his school. The same is true of Bactria. In any case, on the Ai-Khanum site Hellenistic sculptures have been discovered. So far as the coins are concerned, continues K.V.Trevor, "it is possible that among the model makers there were Greeks also, but taking into account the fact that the Graeco-Bactrian coins, by their particulars, freshness of depicting of the portrait features, and by their ability to express the thought as well as tenderness and force and stubbornness, are different from the Greek coins of their time, there is a possibility that the stamps were made by "local master, Greek or Bactrian, who had adopted the best from Lisipp".⁴²

41. Bichurin, II, p. 152.

42. Trevor K.V., 1940, pp. 40-41.

We also know about the remarkable creations of the Bactrian embellishment art. The walls of the rooms were decorated by paintings, stone and metallic reliefs, etc.

As already mentioned, for this period the wide cultural links of Bactria with the Hellenistic world and India are characteristic, which left their influence on the religious faiths, also. It was then that Buddhism penetrated into Central Asia.

This does not mean that Zoroastrianism had lost its position. To the centre of Bactria the city of Bactras — where Zoroastrianism was widely recognised, numerous pilgrims were coming. Here there were the main temple of fire, the temple of goddess Ardisura Anahita, in which her statue with gold crown on her head and clad in thirty beaver furs stood along with the temples of other gods. Perhaps the sanctuary of the complex of Sakshan-Ohur was Zoroastrian.

There is no doubt that in Bactria there were Greek temples also as there lived sizable Greek population and the rulers of the Graeco-Bactrian State were themselves Greeks. One evidence of this is the pictures of the Greek gods stamped on the reverse side of the coins. (Their list we have given above) The Greek cult constructions, found during the excavation were on the Ai-Khanum site.

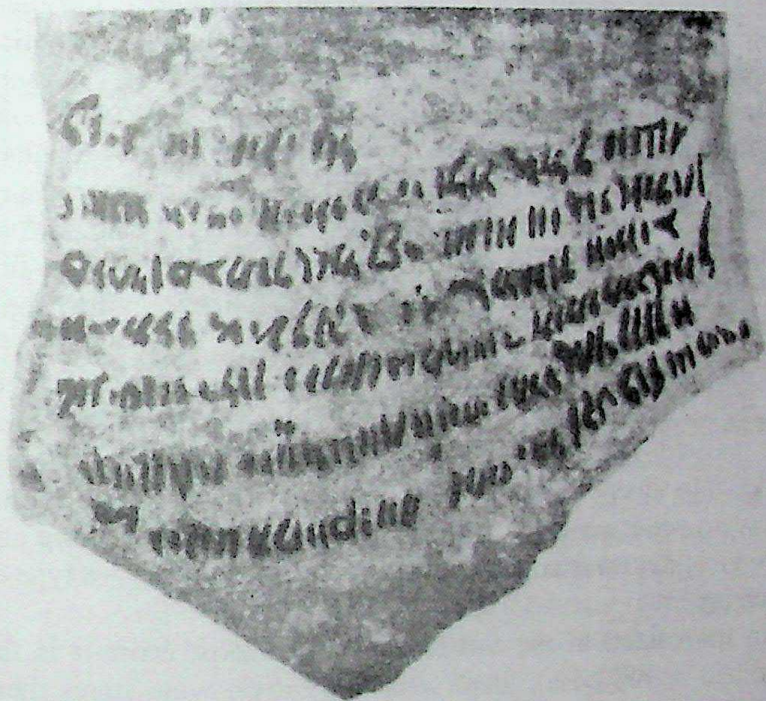
Thus in Graeco-Bactria there existed different religions. From the Milindia-Panha(1,3) we know about religious tolerance in the Indian City of Shakala. There “words of welcome were addressed on the streets to the preacher of any religion”. It is likely that the same was the case in Bactria itself; and there is no basis to doubt that the main part of the local Bactrian population practised Zoroastrianism. Perhaps the Greek population was also influenced by it.

The Parthian Kingdom

In contrast with the Graeco-Bactria, much more is known about the internal system of the Parthian state, in particular, if not to confine ourselves to the chronological limits of this chapter and keep in mind the later materials also. Old authors have preserved some information. Epigraphical monuments and others also give a

great deal of information. The discovery in one of the largest centres of the Parthian Kingdom — Nisa — (near Ashgabat) of the great archive of special documents has a special significance.

In the Parthian state, the king's power was to some extent limited by the preservice of two councils — the council of clan aristocracy and the council of priests-magicians. In the council of clan aristocracy, along with the representatives of the ruling house of Arshakids, were included perhaps the representatives of six noble clans. The king was selected by the two councils from the representatives of the ruling dynasty, keeping in mind the will of the late king.



Parthian Fragment — Nisa Archive I.C.B.C.

In the state were included small dependent kingdoms (for example, Girkania or Sakastan) the rulers of which sometimes minted their own coins (Elam, Persida) and satrapies (they were comparatively small) headed by the satraps (Khshakhrap or Nakhvadar). The satrapies were divided into giparhis and the latter

into statams. Positions higher than satraps were occupied by marzpanes, to whom group of satraps were subordinated.⁴³

Valuable materials for understanding the mechanism of the local administration functioning in north-eastern Parthia were obtained by I.M. D'iakonov and V.A. Livshits during the deciphering and research of the archive from old Nisa. In local places there existed ramified administrative unit *diz*-fortified settlement. (in Tajik language this word means "fort") at the head of which stood its chief — *dizpat*. *Dizpats* were subordinated to satrap. In the twenties of the second century B.C. there ruled a satrap, Kofezat. They are known by name the chief military commander of the cavalry Tiridat, several "treasurers" "horseman Sasan". In the collection of taxes and preservation of food stuffs a whole army of officials took part. Thus in the collection of taxes, in the form of wine in the royal stores — *madustans* — officials carrying the titles: "wine supplier, seal applier, Clerk, accountant, table keeper" participated. In the privileged class "magicians" were also included, the priest *Sposak-Aturshpat* ("The lord of fire") is mentioned.⁴⁴ The task of the local bureaucracy was, first of all, to exact possible maximum taxes and duties from the people and keep them in obedience.

On considerable parts of the fertile lands in Southern Turkmenia, as is evident from the documents of the Nisa archive, there existed "estates" consisting of "vineyards". Lands were divided into several categories. Corresponding natural taxes for the king were collected from them. A special tax (partly in kind and partly in money) was collected for maintenance of fire — a type of church tax.

In the center, in the fortress of Mikhrdatkirt (now it is the settlement of old Nisa), there were large royal wine stores, here supplied wine was poured into large *khums* and entered in the receipt book. Material for writing, fragments of vessels were used which was a label on which marks were made ("sour", "poured into the other vessels", etc.) In the documents the quality of wine,

43. Perikhanyan A.G., 1956, pp. 50-51; Diakonov I.M., 1961 pp. 194-197.

44. D'iakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960a pp. 22-23; 1966, pp. 141-143, 146.

the name of vineyard and of the estate, the name and designation of the supplier, date, grade of the wine, etc. were mentioned. Such detailed documents were composed during 70 years. Besides them there are summary records, lists and also demands for the supply of wines.⁴⁵

Until recently only the cities of Western Parthia, their city construction and culture were studied. From the documents found there it is known that the cities, at least the large ones, had bodies of self-rule. Agriculture district was also included in the city. Sometimes the cities minted their own coins.

Thanks to the excavations by Soviet archaeologists the cities and settlements of northeastern Parthia have become known for the first time. In particular, excavation extending over many years were conducted in two nearby settlements of Nisa in the village of Bagir (close to Ashgabat). The settlement of old Nisa appears to be the royal sanctuary and the settlement of new Nisa — the remnant of the Parthian city itself.

The fortress of old Nisa consisted of royal palaces (including their household services), cult buildings, places for residences of guards and nobles. The fortress was in the shape of pentagon and was encircled by a powerful wall, the thickness of which at the base was 9 meters. In the southern corner in a giant tower, the top area of which was a square measuring 35 × 35 meters, there was an entire citadel, one of the main points of defence of the fortress. The walls and towers were made of *pakhsa* (raw bricks reinforced by straw). It is assumed that one could enter the fortress through the long narrow and inclined slope paths going alongside the walls.

The central place inside the fortress was the huge square hall with an area of 400 square meters. In the centre of the hall there were four powerful columns made of baked bricks. The body of each column was like a bundle of four semi-columns. Along the perimeter stood the semi-columns. The second tier of the walls was also decorated by semi-columns attached to the walls and in the space between them in the niches there stood large statues

45. D'iakonov I.M. and Livshits V.A., 1960b pp. 16-20; 1960b, pp. 16-20, 1966, pp. 134-136.

made of clay (higher than the human height). The walls of the second tier were covered by bright red plaster and colourful ornamental paintings, gilding also was used. The floor was of alabaster, ceiling wooden, with a hole for light in the center for the only source of light. The power of the central columns rising upwards, the splendour of the sculpture and of the classical architectural finishing and magnificence could not but astonish everyone who visited this complex. Among the specialists — architects and archaeologists — a discussion is going on about the functions of this grand complex. Some of them assume that this huge hall is the hall of audience of the Parthian kings, others are of the more plausible view that this square hall is a monument of temple architecture of the gigantic temple of fire constructed in honour of the idolised forefathers.

Besides the temple complex, in Mihirdatkirt, there were many other constructions, in particular, wine stores having capacity of more than half a million liters and the royal treasure house — a closed square construction (60 × 60 meters).

In one of the rooms, many articles were found made of ivory, mainly vessels for drinking wine resembling horns. The upper side of these vessels carry a border with relief depictions of dionysian episodes, gods etc. The lower part of these vessels is designed in the shape of sculptures. Sculptures made of baked clay (including gilded ones) bronze, marble, and silver were also found.

Such are the silver gilded figures of Parthian goddess, silver figure of godhead *Erot* with golden bracelets. The Parthian monuments of Nisa, according to G.A. Koshelenko, are “characterised by organic fusion of two main ‘sources’ : local, coming from the depth of cultural tradition of Iranian-speaking peoples of the Near East and Central Asia, and the Hellenistic.”⁴⁶

A special place among the discoveries at old Nisa belongs to, the already mentioned above numerous, Parthian documents mainly related to taxes written on clay fragments.

46. Koshelenko G.A., 1966, p. 40.

In the second settlement — New Nisa — were found the ruins of the temple and burial chamber.⁴⁷

The Nisa archive helped to understand deeply not only the administrative and taxation system but also the spiritual culture of north-eastern Parthia. The documents are written in Aramaic script. It may be recalled that this script was used in the Achaemenid offices. While deciphering these documents I.M. D'iakonov and V.A. Livshits from the beginning faced the fact that some words were Aramaic and others were Parthians, and the same meanings appeared in both Aramaic and Parthian words. The syntax of the documents is Parthian not Aramaic, Parthian words have no Aramaic grammar indicators but Parthian only. All this led the researchers to the conclusion that the Aramaic words at that time were merely ciphers of their kind. They were not read in Aramaic, and after seeing this or other group of signs, the scribe pronounced the corresponding Parthian word. It was not very easy to learn such a script. The students exercised a lot before they were entrusted with the writing of documents. Training exercise books have been found written on clay fragments (the other material, leather, was too expensive to be used during the studies).

So far as the religion is concerned the Parthian kingdom presented a very colourful picture. Besides the local cult of the sun god Mitra and the cult of the founder of the dynasty of Arshak, the Greek cults, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and later Christianity were spread here. Zoroastrianism occupied the leading place.

In the documents from Nisa two hundred names are mentioned; any of them could have been that of orthodox Zoroastrian, and many are purely Zoroastrian. The calendar was also Zoroastrian.

The priest Sposak has already been mentioned. He bore the title of "Lord of Fire". The grassroot magicians are also mentioned. In the documents figure the nameless temples of Fraat and Nanaia. Possibly the temple households also existed. Syncretism of Parthian religion manifested itself for inclusion in the Parthian pantheon of alien gods. Thus Nanaia is ancient

47. For publication of Parthian monuments of Southern Turkmena See "Trudy IuTAKE"; Masson M.E. and Pugachenkova G.A., 1959, pp. 22-117.

Mesopotamian moon god known from the times of Shumer. Later it spread to Assyria and subsequently penetrated into Iran from one side and into Armenia, Syria, Egypt and even into Greece from the other. In the West its fusion with other gods, in particular, with Greek Artemida is noticed. Nanaia (Anahita) was later seen in the Kushan and Sogdian pantheon. The name of this god shifted to the Shugnan language where "Nan" is for "Mother".

In connection with the documents from Nisa the question of the Parthian calendar has appeared again. The starting point in it was the year corresponding to 247 B.C. In the documents of Nisa the dates are according to the Zoroastrian (Young Avestian) Calendar. As is known it came into use in Iran from the second half of the fifth century B.C. and was created on the model of Egyptian solar calendar. The year was divided into 365 days, twelve months (of thirty days each) plus five additional days. The names of the days and months in it are the Parthian forms of names of Zoroastrian gods.⁴⁸

Iranian mediaeval chroniclers, in every possible way, ignored the entire centuries — old period of the Parthian Kingdom. They presented it tendentiously as a dark period of usurper's power. However, in the mind of the people the memory of this period is preserved in original form : the word "Pehlavan" acquired common meaning of an epic hero and expression of "Pehlevian narration" "Pehlevian song" took the meaning of fairy tale narration and/or ancient song.

The entire literature in the middle Persian language of the period of third-seventh centuries A.D. also acquired the designation Pehlevian.

The history of Parthian kingdom, covering five hundred years in the second half of its existence, was unfolding mainly on the territory of Iran and Mesopotamia and partly transcends the bounds of history of the ancestors of the peoples of Central Asia.

48. About documents from Nisa see Diakonov I.M., D'iakonov M.M., Livshits V.A., 1951 and the works of I.M. Diakonov and V.A. Livshits cited above. For general characteristics of the Parthian religion on the basis of written sources see Unvala G.M., 1925. For the cult of Nania in the East see Ingholt H., 1954, pp. 12-14.

The Other Regions of Central Asia

One of the most important agriculture regions of Central Asia — Fargana — as it follows from the accounts of the end of the second century B.C. had a highly developed economy in the preceding period, as well synchronizing with the Graeco-Bactrian Period. It is true that we can speak about this only by projecting the information of the end of second century B.C. As for the monuments of the third-second century B.C. they have practically not been discovered in Fargana.



Township of Koi-Krylgan-Kala — (Ivc.B.C. – IVc.A.D.)

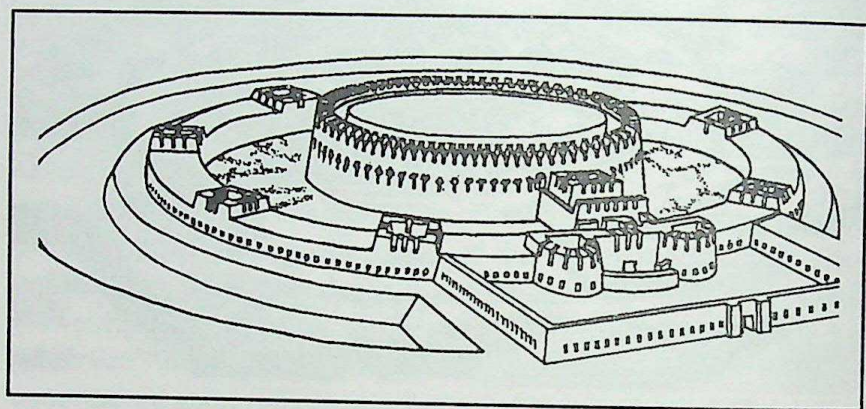
The inclusion of Fargana in the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom is questionable. On the basis of one observation in Strabo's work (XI, II, I) many scholars contended that Fargana was a part of Graeco-Bactria. But the proof supporting is vulnerable.⁴⁹

In Fargana the coins of Evtidem, Demetrii and imitations of the mint of Geliokl have been discovered. Of course these coins, as also the Graeco-Bactrian coins, found in Parthian Nisa could have reached there as a result of trade.

Khwarezm which had not suffered much from foreign intrusions was in the second-first century B.C., a powerful

49. In this connection besides the works of W. Tarn and A.K. Narain see: also Bartold V.V., 1964b; Althein F., 1947-1948, pp. 315-317.

independent state. Written sources donot inform about it but the monuments discovered by the Khwarezmian expedition are indisputably proof of it. Let us dwell at length on one of them. Janbas-Kala represents the regular rectangle surrounded by powerful double walls. The entrance, on the defence of which particular attention was paid, consisted of a passage with five bends additionally reinforced by the loopholes in the interior walls. In the absence of towers the loopholes are situated in a fan-like system and in the walls are semi-circular niches with three loopholes which allowed to shoot along the walls. For better shooting of the enemy the loopholes were set into depth and below them were sloped furrows.



Township of Koi-Krylgan-Kala (Reconstructed)
4th C. B.C. to 4th C. A.D.

Because of this, the walls give the impression of being covered by semi-columns.

The existence of a large number of loopholes in the fortress walls makes us assume that the entire population was drawn into its defence. In general, the whole system of fortification testifies to the existence of a single plan for defence of the oasis from the raids of the nomads.

The division of the city into two parts is typical. The main street dividing the city into two parts from the side opposite the gate was closed by the "House of Fire" — the centre of the social cult of the inextinguishable fire. On both sides of the main street

there were giant houses, i.e., residential constructions consisting of a large number of rooms approximately of one size.⁵⁰

One of the most interesting constructions in Khwarezm is Koi-Krylgan-Kala. In contrast to the common square and rectangular constructions, Koi-Krylgan-Kala has the appearance of a separately standing cylindrical tower with a diameter of 42 meters which is surrounded by a round wall (diameter of the external circle is 87.5 meters.) with towers. The central cylindrical construction consisted of two storeys twice reconstructed. The circular courtyard was gradually covered with buildings.

During excavations different materials were discovered, including a large number of *khums* used for storing water and food. On the walls were highly artistic reliefs. (depiction of griffings, horse-riders, women etc.) — numerous statues made of clay and alabaster recreate the gods of Khwarezmian pantheon; there are also depictions of household. Some of the statues are extremely realistic. Several inscriptions from third-second centuries B.C. and written in Anamaic script were discovered. On one of them there is a name the basis of which is the word *aspa*, (“horse”) the name apparently means “horse rider”.

At Koi-Krylgan-Kala were discovered the fragments and tens of *ossuaries* store of bones and burrial mask. In the vicinities were found a large number of *ossuaries* — made of square clay boxes, carrying on the top sculptural depiction of a man (sometimes in natural size).⁵¹

In the opinion of researchers of Koi-Krylgan-Kala “the central building was constructed as the burial place in the first place for the performance of cremation rites. This peculiar “house of the dead” was burnt down along with the corpse of a nobleman prince or maybe even the Khwarezmian king. The ashes of the dead and perhaps of the persons accompanying him to the other world were taken out of the fire and put into *ossuarii*. Afterwards the complex became the centre for the funeral service,

50. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, pp. 88-98.

51. Rapoport U.A., 1971, pp. 64-66.

subsequently turning into a large temple and also a centre of astral cult and astronomical observations".⁵²

These conclusions are interesting though debatable, yet there is no doubt that Koi-Krylgan-Kala is an outstanding monument of the culture of Central Asia.

Nomadic and semisettled tribes occupied large steppe belt, foothills and the zone of alpine meadows. Near the Aral region, in the area between the two rivers Amu and Syr Daria, they were under the influence of Khwarezmian culture. It is here that they took to a settled life. The nobility of the nomads had fortified settlements. Nomadic Saks tribes occupied the regions on the right bank of the Syr Daria and in its middle course, the southern Kazakh steppe, the northern Kyrgyzia, the periphery of Fargana valley and partly in its internal regions and the Eastern Pamir. They were closely linked in economic, political and cultural spheres with the regions of full settlers; at the same time they were simultaneously part of the vast sea of the nomadic tribes spreading from Mongolia to the southern Russian steppes.

* * *

We know only vaguely the visible contours of the history of Central Asia in the third-second centuries B.C. It is not just the case that the political events of this period are appearing like separate stills of a lost cinema film. The sequence of these stills is not clear to us — the cause of one or the other phenomenon is, as a rule, absolutely not known. The political history of Graeco-Bacteria continues to be dark and incomprehensible. Exactly a hundred years ago Russian orientalist V.V. Grigoriev, after critically examining the different attempts to "sort out" the names of Graeco-Bactrian rulers known from the coins noted sadly: "by such combinations which were concocted, in this manner, the historical knowledge does not move a step further".⁵³ Over the past hundred years the quantity of the Graeco-Bactrian coins has risen considerably. Other reconstructions have appeared of

52. Tolstov S.P., 1862, pp. 117-135. See also: "Koi-Krylgan-Kala" 1967

53. Grigoriev V.V., 1867b, pp. 774-775.

Graeco-Bactrian history which are bolder than those of the numismatists of the first half of the 19th century. The boldness of these attempts, particularly of V.V. Tarn, is based not on some confirmed facts but on arbitrarily constructed matrimonial alliances and considerations about the kinship of one or the other character on the basis of comparison of their portraits and extended interpretation of the sources etc. Excessive subjectivism led W.W. Tarn to the creation of a completely inadequate picture of Graeco-Bactrian history. We are not going to completely reject the importance of the work of the outstanding British historian. There are many valuable observations and materials in it. We wish to underline only one thing: "There are limits by crossing which a historian is risking to become a novelist. And this happened with W.W. Tarn.

At the same time the economic and cultural characterisation of Graeco-Bactria, thanks to the works of the archaeologists and numismatists, has now acquired adequately concrete and distinct contours.

We should dwell upon another question also. In the western literature the role and importance of the Graeco-Hellenistic culture in the development of Central Asia is extremely exaggerated. Some scholars maintain that the socio-economic development of Central Asia, after the Graeco-Macedonian conquest, owes to the Greek influence, that the cities, particularly fortified ones emerged only after the advent of the Greeks, etc.

In the works of Soviet scholars, particularly in the earlier published works of the author, this concept was sharply criticised. The internal causes of the deep socio-economic processes is the main factor determining the development of Central Asian society. Archaeological discoveries have simultaneously enabled to bring out also the features of the deeply original culture of the Bactrians, Khwarezmians, Sogdians and other peoples of Central Asia.

However, in this just criticism of the unfounded bourgeois concepts some scholars have gone to the other extreme of not showing adequately the importance and fruitfulness of socio-economic cultural contacts between the Graeco-Hellenistic world

and Central Asia by denying the existence on its territory of the large Greek settlements.

The Greeks came to Central Asia as conquerors but they remained there, by no means, only as part of the military contingent. The Greek population of the Central Asia, Afghanistan and northern India included artisans and traders, actors and sculptors, physicians and musicians. The development of the slave-owning system received a new impetus in connection with close contacts with the Hellenistic world. The cities here could not but experience the influence of the urban system of the Greek cities founded in Central Asia and the neighbouring regions.

Even more considerable was the influence on local culture, spiritual and material. Let us give only one example. The Greek script continued to remain the leading script in Bactria during the millennium after the military campaign of Alexander of Macedonia. In the stone architecture, in sculpture, in the art of jewellery-making; etc. — everywhere the mutual interaction of the Hellenistic and local cultures can be traced; the results of this synthesis continued to evolve in subsequent centuries as well. However, contrary to the assertions of many western researchers in this synthesis Central Asian culture was an equal and even leading component. The language of Greek settlers, surrounded by local population, gradually got mixed with the language of the indigenous population of the country. Their culture also acquired a syncretic character. The international trade turnover, the movement of groups of population in the process of trade, wars and transmigration led to wide penetration into the West of the best achievements of Central Asian spiritual and material cultures. Hence, the so-called Hellenistic culture is the creation of the genius of many peoples: Hellen, local population of the countries of the Near and Middle East and also of the peoples of Central Asia and India.

And one more detail W.W. Tarn viewed that the Graeco-Bactria as the vital part of the Hellenistic world as one of the Hellenistic states.⁵⁴ Criticising this viewpoint A.K. Narain calls the

54. W.W. Tarn, 1950, pp. XIX-XX.

entire history of the Graeco-Bactria as history of the "Indo-Greeks", and writes: Their history is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states; they came, they saw, but India conquered them."⁵⁵

Both these viewpoints are far from the truth. Of course, the history of Graeco-Bactria cannot be viewed outside the Selucid background. It is true that the second half of the history of Graeco-Bactria is linked with India. But the sources of history of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom lie in Central Asia. Here it emerged and (in Afghanistan) it became strong. In fact the combination of Bactrian and Greek elements created those powerful forces which could conquer northern India. Therefore, the Graeco-Bactria is first of all Central Asia and Afghanistan as well as India and the Hellenistic world.

55. Narain A.K., 1962, pp. 10-11.

Chapter 6

Central Asia in the Kushan Period

1. Parthia, Graeco-Bactria and the Nomads. Early History of Yueh-Chih

The Nomads and Parthia

In 138-137 B.C. Fraat ascended the Parthian throne. He was an adolescent and in the beginning his mother ruled the state. The security of the country demanded the presence of the king in the East. But suddenly everything changed. The Seleucids attacked the Parthians. The Seleucid troops succeeded in capturing the main part of the western territories of Parthia, including Babylonia. But the triumph of the Seleucids was not lasting. The inhabitants of the cities, who were ruthlessly exploited and robbed, rebelled and attacked the Seleucid garrisons. Fraat won full victory over the enemy, the Seleucid king perished or committed suicide and his daughter was taken by Fraat II into his harem. This was the last attempt by the Seleucids to regain the eastern dominion which once belonged to them. The Parthian troops again entered Babylonia and started preparing for the military campaign against Syria.¹

After this considerable success came the troubled years for the Parthian rulers. The most complete account of this is given by Justin (LXII, 1-3): "... At this time a revolt among the Scythians (Justin thus calls the nomadic Central Asian Saks tribes-B.G.) compelled him (Frat II-B.G.) to return back in order to defend his

1. Debevoise N.C., 1938, pp. 27-37.

own state. The fact is that the Scythians were summoned on payment for the help of the Parthians against Antioch, the king of Syria but they arrived when the war was already over. They were falsely accused of coming late with their help and were not paid the promised tribute. The Scythians who were unhappy that they had undertaken in vain such a long campaign demanded that either they be paid for their labour or be directed against another enemy. Offended by the arrogant refusal, the Scythians started devastating the Parthian territory. That is why Fraat undertook a military campaign against them..."

The military operations (in 130 B.C.) were unfolding in the following way (Justin, XLII, 1, 4-5): "... Fraat took with him, to the war, the Greek troops which were taken prisoners after the war with Antioch and with whom until then he had behaved arrogantly and rudely...hence, when the Greeks saw that the battle line of the Parthians was shaken, they switched over to the enemy side and took their long-awaited revenge for their imprisonment by destroying the Parthian troops in a bloody battle and Fraat himself."

The uncle of the previous ruler Artaban II became the King. As for the Scythians, they plundered Parthia and returned to their nomadic territories (Justin, XLII,2,1). The proud Parthia was compelled to pay tribute to them (Ioann Antiochian, Fr.66). But Artaban II tried to free himself from this dependence. He went to war with one of the tribes — Justin calls them Tokharas — was wounded and died shortly thereafter.

This happened in about 123 B.C. The Parthian throne was occupied by the son of Artaban, Mitridat II otherwise known as the great. Only under him the Parthians succeeded in stopping the advance of the Saks tribes and even in winning back from them (may be not the whole) captured territories. Justin informs (XI,II,1,5): "Several times he waged the successful wars against the Scythians also and avenged himself for the offences against his predecessors." During the rule of Mitridat II (123-87 B.C) Parthia attained unprecedented power.

The Problem of Origin of Yüeh-Chih

The events in Graeco-Bactria were unfolding in a completely different way. In order to understand them and also the whole situation in Central Asia it is necessary to have a look at the events taking place to the north-east of the territory of Central Asia and reflected in the ancient Chinese sources. The neighbours of the Huns living on the territory of Mongolia were the people called Yueh-Chih. In the second half of the third century B.C. the Yueh-Chi became very powerful and the ruler of the Huns was forced to hand over to them his son as hostage.² But then the situation changed. The chief of the Huns Maodun (or Mode), who created a distinctive military-administrative system of Hun society turned these nomadic people into a fierce force. Maodun twice undertook military campaigns against China. The Han emperors trembled before him. In 176 B.C., one of the Hun military leaders defeated the Yueh-Chih.³ The son of Maodun Laoshan, in the year routed the Yueh-Chih, killed their ruler and made a drinking bowl out of his skull. The defeated Yueh-Chih went back to the West to East Turkestan and Central Asia.⁴ However, the people living here and known to the Chinese under the name of "Usuni" were themselves dependent on the Huns to some extent. Perhaps instigated by them the Usuni started fighting with the Yueh-Chih and were defeated. Afterwards the Yueh-Chih crushed the Se tribes which advanced to wards the south and having crossed the "hanging bridge" (the mountain passes in the south-eastern Pamir), penetrated Gibin (the north-western part of Indostan). The strengthened Usuni in their turn crushed the Yueh-Chih which compelled them to start moving towards Dakhya-Bactria.⁵

2. Bichurin I., pp. 46-47.

3. Ibid., pp. 54-55.

4. Bichurin II, pp. 147-151.

5. Ibid., pp. 151, 190-191; DeGroot, 1926, p. 15, 123. The history of the Huns and their mutual relations with the neighbours have been highlighted in detail in many works, see for example: McGovern W.M., 1939, pp. 116-129; Bernshtam A.N., 1951, pp. 57-71; Gumilev L.N., 1960b, pp. 63-94. The Usun "vendetta" against the Yueh-Chih, according to some contemporary historians, is the invention of the Chinese chronicles and lacks any historical basis Pulleyblank E.G., 1970, pp. 158-159.

As west European scholar G.Haloun writes, "It is very difficult to date both parts of the journey of the Yueh-Chihs. The assumption of the Japanese scholar I. Kuwabara that the Yueh-Chihs migrated to the north of Central Asia between 172-161 B.C. and went to the south to wards the region of the Amu Daria, between 139-129 B.C., is more accurate.⁶ Moreover in the region of contemporary Samarkand they arrived between 133-129 B.C.⁷

The Yue-Chihs arriving in Central Asia were named Dayue-Chihs (the "great Yueh-Chih"). Those who settled in Easern Turkestan were named "small Yueh-Chih".

The sources of antiquity present these events in a completely different way. They merely do not know many things because the events of inner Asia remained unknown to them. Strabo (XI,8,2) writes, "of these nomads became known those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, that is , Asii, Pasians, Tokhars and Sakarauls who migrated from the region across the other bank of Yaxartes near the region of Saks and Sogdians occupied by Saks" In the prologue to XLII, book of Pompei of Trog there is such a phrase: "Asii are the kings of Tokhars and destructors of Sarauks"; in the book XLI there is another phrase where it is particularly stated: "...Bacteria and Sogdiana were seized by Scythian tribes of Sarauks and Asiians".

This in fact is that No Yueh-Chihs are mentioned here. At the same time it is clear that the Chinese, as well as the western sources, are speaking about the same events which led to the destruction of Graeco-Bactria.

Attempts to reconcile these two groups of sources comparing the peoples and tribes mentioned here with one another and other ethnic (and geographical) Central Asian names have been made since the middle of the 18th century. At the same time it is still far away from reaching a final solution.

An assumption has been made that in the text of Strabo the scribes made a distortion and that initially there was not "... the Asiis, Pasorans..." but the "Asiis or Asians", that was completely

6. For summary of the researches of Japanese scholar see: Haloun G., 1937, pp. 246-249.

7. Rerich U.N., 1963, p. 120.

understandable graphically. Then there are just two forms of the names of the same people. As for the people mentioned by Strabo as "Sakarauls" it is identical with "Sarauks" of Pompei Trog. Comparing these two names many linguists on the basis of other references think that the correct name was "Sakarauks" originating from the word "Sakaravak" ("fast moving Saks")⁸ reconstructed by them.

And thus let us sum up result.

Strabo	Pompei Trog
Asii	Asii
Pasians(Asians)	Asians
Tokhars	Tokhars
Sakarauls (= Sakarauks)	Sarauks (= Sakarauks)

Let us look at the Chinese sources. In them figure Usuni, Se and Da-Yueh-Chih. The ethnonym "Usun" in the central Chinese language should sound as "Uosuan" and in the ancient Chinese language as "O-sun". Often it has been stated that Usun is for Asii in the Chinese; thus, for example, such an opinion was upheld in a very categorical form by A.N. Bernshtam⁹. Besides the similarity of sound here there is a certain parallelism in the sources: according to the Chinese sources Usunis devastated the Yueh-Chih, according to Pompei Trog — Asis — the Kings of Tokhars destroyed the Sakarauks.

But everything is not so simple. A great expert on sources, I. Marquart, sharply denied the possibility of such an identification.¹⁰ G. Haloun rightly stated that according to the Chinese sources Usuns continued to live in the Semirechiye and in the Tianshan and there are no indications of their migration to south of Central Asia, while according to authors of antiquity the Asis migrated distinctly to the south. Hence he considers that the

8. About this see: Litvinskii B.A, 1960b, pp. 92-93 (Ibid., the literature on the question). But there are many other explanations, particularly by E.A. Grantovskii who in his address at the international conference on the Kush-an problems in Dushanbe (1968) offered the etymology of the "White (light coloured) Saks".

9. Bernshtam A.N., 1947a, p. 43.

10. Marquart I., 1901, p. 204, Anm. 5.

equation *Usuni* = *Asis* is "problematical".¹¹ It must be added that according to the conclusions of the noted contemporary foreign expert of Chinese historical linguistics E. Pulleyblank the equation *Usuni*=*Asis* (or *Asians*) is impossible also from the historico-linguistic point of view.¹² Thus, the often found assertions in the literature including the special literature that, the *Usunis* are identical with *Asis-Asians*, is simply a guess work with no substance in it.

As for *Se*, this name should sound like "*Sek*" in the period we are talking about. Now it is generally recognized that these are the *Saks* of ancient Persia and antique sources. Let us dwell on the *Yueh-Chih*s, the main character of this historical drama. On the pronunciation of the name by the Chinese in the ancient times there is no agreement among the Sinologists. Earlier it was thought that their name was once pronounced as *ngint-tsie* or *ngiwat-tia*, which meant foreign name for the Chinese, as *got-ti*, *gut-ti*, *geti* etc.¹³ Now Pulleyblank proves that such an understanding would have been justified for a much later period; and in the epoch when the *Yueh-Chih* fell into the field of vision of the Chinese sources, their Chinese name should have reflected a sort of the name *Ywati*.¹⁴

All these linguistic nuances have great importance. Depending on how the name *Yueh-Chih*s was pronounced in the ancient times they are compared with one or another people famous in the sources of antiquity.

From the first half of the 19th century a hypothesis exists according to which the *Yueh-Chih*s are the *Massagets*. Among the Soviet scholars this hypothesis was worked out by S.P. Tolstov.

He proceeded from the assumption that the guess of O. Franke that a part of the *Masagets* moved away from Central Asia to north east is an indisputable fact though actually it has not been proved. The name "*Massagets*" was interpreted by him as the "*great Gets*" and as that time it was established that the "*great Yueh-Chih*"

11. Haloun G., 1937, pp. 252-254.

12. Pulleyblank E.G., 1966a, p. 29.

13. Maenchen-Helfen O., 1945, p. 77.

14. Pulleyblank E.G., 1966a, pp. 17-18.

ought to be pronounced as “great Gwats” or Gats, S.P. Tolstov stated that the Yueh-Chih is the Massagets.¹⁵ This concept is built on mistaken and unproved assumptions and other possibilities and explanations were hastily declared by Tolstov as “biased and pseudo-scientific constructions.”

In the “History of the Tajik People” the constructions of supporters of the equation of the Yueh-Chih = Massagets have been highlighted in detail and at the same time it is noted that among the Soviet scholars there are opponents of this equation, in particular I.I. Umnyakov.¹⁶ It may be observed that the question of correct etymology of the word “Massaget” has not been solved till now.

In their time I. Marquart and E.G. Pulleyblank considered it possible that in the ancient pronunciation of Yueh-Chih (Ywati) was reflected the name of tribes Yatis which Ptolemy (VI, 12) puts besides Tokharas.¹⁷

So far as the Tokharas are concerned their name sometime is compared with that of the country Dawan. In ancient times it should have been pronounced as Da-Iwan. Such a sounding could have reflected the local name “Taxwar” (Tokhars)¹⁸. In the historical literature there is a firm opinion that Dawan is Fargana. There seems to be no cause for reexamining this assumption. The old and new attempts to “shift” Dawan (to Pamir, and Eastern Turkestan) appear completely unconvincing.

The authors of the fourth and later centuries translated the word Yueh-Chih invariably as “Tokhara”¹⁹, which further confirms the links between the Tokharas Sh Chih and the Yueh-Chih.

Lately, there is a growing tendency to link the Yueh-Chih and the Tokharas with those group of population of eastern Turkestan whose mediaeval descendents have left manuscripts written in two languages (or dialects) — manuscripts of the “Tokharas”. These languages, have nothing in common with either Indian or Iranian

15. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, pp. 242-245.

16. Umnyakov I.I., 1940, 1946.

17. Marquart I., 1901, p. 206; Pulleyblank E.G., 1966a, p. 22.

18. Pulleyblank E.G., 1966a, p. 22.

19. Rerich U.N., 1963, p. 122.

languages though they are Indo-European languages. Among the Soviet scholars this point of view is supported particularly by U.M. Rerich and V.V. Ivanov.²⁰

Japanese scholar K. Enoki tried to avoid the complication in the following way: he proceeded from the fact that the antique and Chinese sources throw light on not only the same events but on two consecutive stages of conquest of Bactria. The antique sources inform about the much early stage while the Chinese dealt with the much later stage. In such a case there is no need for identifying the Yueh-Chihhs with any of the people mentioned in the sources of antiquity. As for the Yueh-Chihhs, Enoki following G. Haloun, suggests to consider them as Scythians. He assumes that the carriers of the Pazyryk culture were included in the Yueh-Chih state. "In my opinion", writes K. Enoki, "the Yueh-Chihhs of third century B.C. were very similar in their territory and power to the Turks of the sixth-seventh centuries and the so called migration Yueh-Chihhs was not the migration of the groups of people from one place to another but extension of the eastern and northern frontiers of the Yueh-Chih state."²¹ It deserves to be noted that the linguistic side of the equation Yueh-Chihhs = Scythians has now been criticised by A. Pulleyblank; the other side of this hypothesis is also highly vulnerable.

On the whole, the Yueh-Chih problem received a forceful impetus as a result of the linguistic researches of the scholars of different countries, including Soviet during the last half a century. A considerable collection of material has taken place. Many contradictory hypotheses and theories have appeared. To unite all these informations, facts and observations in a single picture has not been possible so far. Perhaps, the creation of such a synthesized picture will remain the work for the future.

Evaluating all that has been done in this sphere, it is necessary to note the growing importance of archaeological material for resolving this problem. In contrast to presentation of the role of mutual relations of China-Huns-Yueh-Chihhs in the events linked to the end of the Graeco-Bactria, S.P. Tolstov comes out with his own

20. Ibid., pp. 122-125; Ivanov V.V., 1967.

21. Enoki K., 1959, pp. 227-232.

concepts: "...On the whole the conquests of Bactria by the "barbarians" is depicted as the movement of the tribes, first of all, of the near-Aral region, in the southern direction against their traditional enemies"²² In our opinion it were the developments on the territories distant from Central Asia which led to the intrusion into the northern Central Asian regions of the big masses of the nomad Yueh-Chih that resulted in drawing into the movement of bigger masses of Central Asian nomadic tribes and peoples. There began a chain reaction of its kind. However, it could flow with such intensity, only because(continuing this comparison)in the "cauldron" a "critical moment" had been reached.

Assault on Graeco-Bactria

In 206 B.C. several decades before the Yueh-Chih intruded into Central Asia, the nomad hordes were already standing on the frontiers of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The further weakening of this kingdom led perhaps to the continuous loss by it of its northern territories. In connection with the movements caused by arrival of the Yueh-Chih, a more decisive onslaught on the Graeco-Bactria began. How this process was proceeding in reality is not known. One of the possible conclusions (which has many vulnerable spots as others have) is the following: "The Saks pushed back by the Yueh-Chih advanced through eastern Turkestan and the Pamir through mountain passes into north-eastern India"²³. The Sakarauks, camping on the middle of the Syr Daria, captured Sogdiana and from there they advanced to the Merv oasis and moved to the south Sakastan (contemporary Sistan) and north-western Indostan. Towards the south, to Bactria moved also the big groups of tribes from the outskirts of Fargana (Tokhars?) and also the wing of another wave of nomads coming from the near-Aral region."

Chinese ambassador Chajan-Tsian in 128 B.C. could note that the Yueh-Chih had already conquered Dahya-Bactria. However, the then headquarters of the Yueh-Chih military chief was located

22. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, p. 245.

23. Litvinskii B.A., 1960a, pp. 8-11.

further to the north of the Amu Daria.²⁴ Perhaps, in the beginning the rulers of the regions of Bactria acknowledged the vassalage of the Yueh-Chih; later, due to the movement of the Yueh-Chih troops, the Yue-chih administration was established.

Obviously, A.K. Narain is right in stating that the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom was attacked along the different operational lines by different people and in different times.²⁵

Consequently the Graeco-Bactria fell down. At the end of the second-first half of the first century B.C. the last dominions of the Graeco-Bactrian rulers were captured and liquidated.

Thus, in contrast with Parthia the nomadic, onslaughts led to the complete destruction of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

2. Central Asia in II-I Centuries B.C.

Bactria and Sogd

The seizure of Bactria resulted in its further fragmentation and decentralization. Initially, in each city with its surrounding areas, there were rulers from the Graeco-Bactrian times. The Chinese sources inform that five dominions were dependent upon the ruler of the Yueh-Chih. After shifting to Dahya-Bactria "the house of the Yueh-Chih" was divided into five princely houses.²⁶ This text suggests the idea that the territorial division corresponded to the clan-tribal principal as it often was the case with the nomads who came to Central Asia earlier also.

The rulers of these dominions carried the title which the Chinese called by the word "Hi-Heu" (ancient sound "nheap-goh"). There is no doubt that it is the same title which appears later on the Kushan coins in the form of "Yavyga" and subsequently reaches the Turks in the form of "Yabgu". As G. Bailey showed this title is etymologically derived from the Iranian language and should have meant "leader".²⁷

24. Bichurin II, pp. 151-152.

25. Narain A.K., 1962, p. 138.

26. Bichurin II, pp. 184-227.

27. On this see Litvinskii B.A., 1967b, p. 36.

The real chain of events occurring in the second-first century B.C. is practically not known. The only data at our disposal, is received from the study of numismatic and archaeological materials.

Probably, after the disintegration of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom continued to circulate the small coins on the territory of Bactria — obols—with the name of the Graeco-Bactrian King Evkratid. The discovery of coins made in southern Tajikistan showed that these coins were, minted during the rule of Yueh-Chihs — at the end of II-I centuries B.C. These coins are reproduction of the coins of Evkratid himself with small distortion of the inscriptions. It is supposed that several series of such coins were issued (they are found in Gissar and in Kabadian).²⁸

The other coins are also very important. They were minted according to the sample of one of the later Graeco-Bactrian ruler — Geliokl. Some of them are very similar to the coins of Geliokl, and on the others there appears the figure of the horse which was absent on the coins of Geliokl. The coins with horse are of much later period and probably testify to some political changes, maybe, to the urge for consolidation of power in the first century B.C. These coins have been found in Surkhan Daria and Gissar Valleys²⁹ and recently in the Parkhar region of Tajikistan.

In Sogd also the coins imitating the Graeco-Bactrian ones continued to be minted. However, the “tetradrahms” of Evtidem were taken as the sample. A part of these coins, which were closer to the sample, could be minted (and circulated) in the epoch chronologically coinciding with the second half of the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom when Sogd freed itself from the rule of the Graeco-Bactria. Other coins which were far different from the original coins could be minted after the destruction of Graeco-Bactria. These coins apparently are linked to the Bokharan Oasis.³⁰

Besides, in Sogd (and partly in Bactria) were circulating other coins as well. Very interesting are the coins on the back side of which bowman is depicted. In the Greek inscription there is the

28. Mandelshtam A.M., 1966v.

29. Masson V.M., 1957b.

30. Masson V.M., 1954.

name of the Seleucid king Antiochus but on the front side is depicted a local ruler instead. Such coins are found in Tal-i-Barzu near Samarkand and in Penjikent.

There are many coins with the name Girkod, partly with Greek and partly with Sogdian inscriptions. R. Ghirshman suggests the following reading of Greek inscriptions: "[coin] of Girkod [son] of Ardetr Sakarank". In the Sogdian legend he reads the name as Artadr (or Aratadr) and "Sakarag".³¹ On the basis of the reading of this legend R. Ghirshman asserts that it were the Sakaranks who captured Sogd and settled there and their power increased, thanks to the resources of this region. But the reading itself evokes strong doubts.

In the lower Kafirnigan (Beshkent valley) and in the area of Babyshov (on the right bank of the Amu Darya), between the stations of Tashrabat and Mukry), large sepulchres of the nomads have been examined. They are situated at some distance from the oases of settled agriculturists, semi-desert oases near the water sources. Sepulchres are located beyond limits of irrigated lands. From the other side, the sepulchres are situated between the river crossings of the Amu Darya. All this corresponds to the idea of large masses of people switching over to the semi-nomadic way of life during their migration to the regions of northern Bactria.

The excavations of sepulchers, in the valley of Kafirnigan, have provided abundant material: articles of armaments (the arrowheads, swords, etc.), jewellery including of gold, ceramics, etc.³² Most of these articles are undoubtedly adopted from the local settlers for example the typical Bactrian ceramics, etc. This shows that the processes of cultural interaction with the settled population led to fast and wide assimilation of many elements of Bactrian culture into the households of the nomadic conquerors. The excavations also showed that by their anthropological types the newcomers were very close to the population of the northern regions of Central Asia; Saks and Usunyas of the Samirechiye and

31. Ghirshman R., 1946, pp. 111-115; Masson B.M., 1955 pp. 42-43; ITNI, 1963, pp. 346-347, About the complexity of the reading of Sogdian legends on the coins of this period see: Henning W.B., 1958, p. 26.

32. Mandelshtam, A.M., 1966a; 1966b.

the near-Aral region but with noticable layers of Mongoloid anthropological features.³³ However, it cannot be ruled out that these are the relics, not of the newcomers, but of the nomadic population of Bactria (hypothesis of B.A. Litvinskii)."

The sepulchres of the newly arrived nomadic population were also studied in Sogd. These are in particular Kuyumazar and Lyavandak sepulchres.³⁴ Their historico-cultural importance is very near to that of the sepulchres of Bactria.

Here in Sogd the aliens assimilated the culture of locally settled population.

The Ancient Fargana state of Dawan

In the Chinese sources of II-I centuries B.C. the vast, rich and densely populated country of Dawan is described in detail. An absolute majority of scholars, Russian and foreign, place Dawan in Fargana. The complication lies in explaining the appearance of the name "Dawan" completely different from the word "Fargana". In general, the word "Dawan" is found in the III century B.C. Afterwards the names of "Bohan" and "Polona" (V century B.C.) appear and it is indicated that they correspond to the ancient Dawan. Polona is undoubtedly the Chinese transcription of the word Fargana.³⁵ So far as Dawan is concerned, the explanation is offered that the Chinese thus gave the country the name which was linked to the Tokharas (Takhwar).

According to the information received from China at the end of II century B.C. the population of Fargana consisted of three hundred thousand people. However no census was carried out at that time and the methods of approximate evaluation had also not been worked out. Hence this figure is merely the impression of a traveller and not the result of correct information. In Dawan there were many cities and large settlements (according to sources their number was 70). The main city was Ershi.

33. Kiyatkina, T.K., 1965, pp. 6-8.

34. Obelchenko O.B., 1956, 1961.

35. P'o-lo-na arises in the Chinese tradition dated 436-437 B.C. (Pelliot P., 1934, p. 41).

As it is informed the inhabitants have deeply "in-set eyes and thick beards; they are skillful in trade ... respect women. What the wife says the husband cannot but obey."³⁶

Dawan is described as a country of highly developed agriculture. Here there were large vineyards, wine was made which was preserved for several decades. Lucerne was cultivated ("grass of mu-su").

The horses of Fargana were specially famous. Among them were Argamaks which were the object of desire of the aristocracy of the neighbouring countries. The Chinese dreamt of these Fargana horses which "perspired with blood"³⁷ They considered them heavenly horses on which you can reach the "country of immortality". The Han emperor Wu-Di specially longed for "blood perspiring horses" and maniacally sought the ways to become immortal. These Fargana horses became an object of worship and reverence in China. The matter reached to extent their composition by poets dedicated odes to them. However, these horses did not need admiration but medical treatment: and what was considered as mark of divinity — their blood-perspiring — actually was the result of scraping of their skin by parasites.

The Chinese emperors tried to conquer Dawan. The people of Dawan had to bear the brunt of wars against the invaders lasting many years. In 104 B.C., the Chinese troops consisting of 60 thousand horsemen were sent to Dawan and extra forces of "scores of thousands of young warriors from China", as the Chinese sources mention, were added. After failing to achieve victory the miserable remnants of the Chinese troops returned. Later a second campaign was launched in which 60 thousand strong army accompanied by additional forces was directed. The Fargana people under the leadership of their king Mugua fought valiantly with the invaders and although in this war they suffered great losses and Mugua himself was killed due to betrayal, finally the invaders were forced to flee. The succession policy which Mugua followed led to the succession to the throne by his young brother.³⁸

36. Bichurin II, pp. 161-162, 188.

37. Ibid, pp. 161-162, 186-188.

38. Bichurin II, p. 163, I, pp. 162-167; 1963b, pp. 350-351.

Thus the people of Fargana, who were supported by the neighbouring Central Asian peoples, could withstand the Han expansion and defend their independence.

Northern Regions and Peoples

One of the peoples who came to the help of the Farganians in the difficult time were the Kangyuians inhabitants of Kangyuia (ancient name Kha nkiah). Sources give detailed information about Kangyuia. From one side Dawan was bordering i.e. Fargana, perhaps it was its south-eastern frontier. On the south Kangyuia was bordering the Yueh-chih. On the north-west the dominion of Kangyuia extended upto Yantsai, i.e., near-Aral region Sarmat-Alan tribes who were dependent on Kangyuia.³⁹

Who were these Kangyuians? Where was the centre of their large dominions? The viewpoint of S.P. Tolstov about the similarity of Kangyuia and Khwarezm⁴⁰ which was widespread in our historiography was for long considered quite acceptable. However, a meticulous study of the sources and acquaintance with the latest researches leads to the conclusion that his viewpoint was contrary to many facts.

The camps of Kangyuians were situated along the Syr Daria and the residences of their rulers were located in the region of Tashkent. Thus the nucleus by the Kangyuians was in the middle Syr Daria. That is why it is clear how the Kangyuians could come to the help of the Farganians in their struggle against the Chinese. As for Khwarezm it was situated on the vast periphery of the dominions, which were under the influence of Kangyuia.

The ethnic affiliation of the Kangyuians is a subject of debate among the scholars. There is an opinion that they were Turks. Others are of the view that the Kangyuians belonged to the carriers of the Tokhar language. However it is likely that they were the Iranian-speaking people, the descendants and heirs of the Syr Daria Saks.

The sources call Kangyuians "nomadic people". There is also an information that in their customs the Kangyui are completely

39. Bichurin I, p. 150, 165, 186, 229.

40. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, pp. 20-26.

identical with the Yangtsai", but the Yangtsai "people live inside the mud walls". In fact, on the territory including Kangyui there were a lot of settlements.⁴¹

As follows from the written sources, the Kangyui was a powerful state formation. In the period of its heyday in the first century B.C. it had a 120 thousand strong army. Kangyui had its independent foreign policy and helped its neighbours in their struggle against alien invaders. In peaceful times it clearly demonstrated to the representatives of the Han Court as to how little regard it had for them. They informed desperately — "Kangyui... arrogant, insolent".⁴²

The history of Kangyui is known little. Already in 270 B.C. it sent missions beyond the borders of Central Asia. Later its power finally declined and it merged with the Ephthalite state.

Archaeological studies of the middle Syr Daria have established that there were many sepulchres and settlements. Among the latter, the settlement of Kaunchi near Yangi-yul was studied by G.V. Grigoriev. Near it lie the Jun sepulchres. The experts-archaeologists call the culture of the middle Syr Daria in the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries of our era Kaunchin — Jun culture. The main area later widened reaching Karamazar mountains and Samarkand. This culture is the culture of Kangyui. In its origin it is undoubtedly local. Among the faiths of the Kangyuians, on the basis of archaeological data there appears the faith in Pharn — the god which was included in the Zoroastrian pantheon. This god was the guardian and protector of the rulers and also of the home, family and health. This god was personified, particularly in the form of the sheep. That is why the inhabitants of Kangyui made the handles of their vessels in the shape of a sheep (the remnants of these concepts are preserved among the Tajiks till date).⁴³

Usun (ancient sound *O-swan*) was a large nomadic formation in the north east Central Asia and in Eastern Turkestan. According

41. Litvinskii B.A., 1968.

42. Bichurin II, pp. 184-185.

43. Grigoriev G.V., 1948; Terenodjkin A.I., 1950b, pp. 158-160; Litvinskii B.A., 1968.

to a legend the Usuns initially lived in Mongolia and subsequently moved to the West. The ruler of the Usuns was called Kunmo (Kun-bag — “prince over the tribes”). Usuns, as the legend tells, lived in Mongolia and Nan-dou-mi ruled over them. Later the Usuns were attacked by the Yueh-Chiahs. Nan-dou-mi was killed. Usuns approached the Huns in the hope of finding support from them. According to another version (Huns killed the Usun chief themselves). Kunmo was survived by a newly-born son. Once the guardian of the newly-born wrapped the child in clothes and left him on the grass and went in search of food when he returned he found that a she-wolf was feeding the child from her breast and a crow was hovering over them with a piece of meat in the beak [the guardian] considered him as a spirit and took him to the Hunn. [The Hunn] Shanyui became fond of him and brought him up and when the Kunmo attained maturity he gave him back the people of his father and sent him to lead the troops.” Becoming strong Kunmo at last attacked the Yueh-Chih who shifted to the west and crushed them, thus avenging the death of his father.⁴⁴

“The Usuns donot engage in agriculture or horticulture but they roam with their cattle from one place to the other looking for grass and water”, informs a source. In the first century B.C. the Chinese considered that the number of the Usuns was more than 600 thousand. It was one of the strongest Central Asian dominions with which China curried favour.

An important role was played by the representatives of the nobility. One could have an idea of their riches from the fact that they possessed large cattle herds, 4 to 5 thousand horses. The grown-up sons of the ruler had their own estates and in solving the state problems the Kunmo was the sole authority.

The ascension to the throne of the new Kunmo was executed by the council of elders.⁴⁵

The last information about the Usuns is contained in the report of the emissary Dun Din who visited their capital “the city of the

44. Bichurin II, pp. 155-156. For analysis of the versions of the origin of the legend see: Zuyev Y.A., 1960, pp. 121-124; Pulleyblank E.G., 1970, pp. 154-160.

45. Bichurin II, pp. 190-198.

Red valley" in 435. At that time the Usuns were under heavy attacks from the Avars, finally losing their independence.⁴⁶

In the Tian-shan and the Semirechiye many Usun sepulchres have been excavated.⁴⁷ The discovered material from these excavations has enabled to specify and more clearly present the history and culture of the Usuns. It may however be noted that the information, in written sources about the arrival of the Usuns from the East, is not to be understood literally. Perhaps a relatively small tribe had come to Central Asia and the main part of the tribal union known in history under the name of "Usuns" represents the further transformation of the local Saks population.

Of course, the Usuns were engaged not only in cattle-breeding they also knew the crafts and agriculture. It can be said that the Usuns, as well as the Saks, occupied considerable territories of Eastern Turkestan.

Parthia — The Victory Over Rome

The might of Parthia grew unprecedentedly under Mitridat II. After his death (88/87 B.C.) Parthia suffered failures initially. At this time Rome pursued an extremely aggressive policy in the East. As border between Parthia and Rome both sides accepted the river Euphrate. But the aggressive actions of the Romans inevitably led to clashes with the Parthians who also were not of a peace-loving character. The first clashes occurred in 65 B.C. and the Romans won complete victory.

In 54 B.C. Rome started preparing for the big military campaign against Parthia. The Roman troops were commanded by famous military general Krass who, however, did not know anything about the theatre of military operations and was not acquainted with the Parthian tactics. The main Parthian troops led by King Orod II (about 58-39 B.C.) penetrated Armenia where the Parthians were waiting for the troops of Krass to arrive. But Krass proceeded along the valley towards Mesopotamia. He did not take into account that the Parthian cavalry was more dangerous in the

46. Zuyev Y.A., 1960, p. 121.

47. Voyevodskii M.V., Gryaznov M.P., 1938; Bernshtam A.N., 1950, 1952; Kibirov A.K., 1959; Akishev K.A., Kushaev G.A., 1963.

valley. The Roman troops crossed the river Euphrate and lured by the Parthians took three to four days to march into the depth of the desert. Parthian general Surena was well prepared for the encounter. Besides the usual cavalry contingents there were a thousand armoured horsemen at his disposal. He made a stock of large number of arrows.

On 9 May 53 B.C. near the city of Karra the Parthians attacked the Roman intruders. Before the battle, the thunder of big Parthian war drums was heard. "Scaring the Romans with this sound", writes Plutarch, (Mark Krass, 24), "the Parthians suddenly threw away the covers of their armour and appeared in front of them like flames of fire in helmets and armours made from Margian blindingly glittering iron. Their horses were also covered with copper and iron armours. There appeared Surena himself, enormously tall and most handsome among others... The Parthians arranged in loose order started shooting arrows on all sides from a distance (the Romans were standing so close to each other that it was impossible to miss the target) and inflicted on them heavy and strong blows from their tightly stretched bows. In such circumstances the condition of the Romans became miserable...".

Krass then threw into attack the best part of the Roman troops, putting his son at the helm of it. The Parthians started retreating. When chasing the Parthians the Roman contingent had gone a long distance and it was surrounded by the Parthians and annihilated.

At night the Roman troops started fleeing hastily. But it did not save them and nearly all of them were killed or taken prisoners. Krass died, his severed head was brought to Orod II as a war trophy.⁴⁸

The imprisoned Romans according to some sources were settled in the region of Merv. Here, the Roman legionaries acquired families and served in the Parthian army (Horacius, "Odes", III, 5,5). Some of them probably went to the north-east into the Semirechiye.⁴⁹ In one of the Nisian documents there is an entry about receipt of wine from the chiefs of Tagms and their

48. For details see: Bokshchanin A.G., 1949.

49. Dubs H.H., 1957.

Parthian names are mentioned. "Tagma" is a Greek word which meant 'legionary' in the Roman times.

I.M. Diakonov and V.A. Livshits are of the opinion that the Nisian document refers to the receipt of wine from the Roman legionaries settled in Eastern Parthia.⁵⁰ This guess is extremely intelligent but it is not undisputed. The penetration into Parthian language of these terms, in the process of Roman-Parthian contacts, cannot be ruled out (and may be it is a result of direct borrowing from the Greek language where this term meant "column", "a contingent of the army").

During the rule of King Pokora in 40 B.C. the Parthians annexed even Syria and Palestine, and Asia Minor came under their influence. It is true that soon after Rome took back these regions. But this is not the main thing: Parthia in the first century B.C. was a dangerous rival of Rome, the Parthian troops more than once crushed the Roman legions.

3. The Kushan Kingdom

The Early Period of Kushan Kingdom

Among the coins which were in circulation on the territory of Bactria and Sogd there is a group of coins on the front side of which the bust of a man, with royal fillet in his hair, is depicted. On the reverse side is the king on horseback with the goddess Nika flying towards him from behind. On the same side there is an inscription consisting of four words in the Greek script. The first word is "ruling"; it is derived from the Greek term "tyrant" which at that time could mean dependent (not supreme) ruler. Then comes the name of the ruler — Gerai (this is a traditional reading and other ones are not excluded). There is also one more name or title the meaning of which is not clear so far. The fourth word is the word "Kushan" written in Greek letters. The famous numismatist, A.N. Zograf, who studied these coins showed that the

50. Diakonov I.M., Livshits V.A., 1966, pp. 150-151.

type of these coins continues the pattern of the coins of Evkratid and could be dated to the middle of the first century B.C.⁵¹



Coin of Gerai

We do not have any information in the written sources about the identity of the person who minted these coins of "ruling Gerai" who is named as "Kushan". But the last name throws light on the lineage of this ruler. The Chinese historical chronicles contain an account about how the Yueh-Chihs having moved to Dahya-Bactria got divided into five vassal dominions one of which was called Guishuan. "After a little more than hundred years passed the Guishuan prince Kiotszyukyu conquered the other four princes and declared himself the king under the name Guishuan started fighting with Ansi, conquered Gaofa, destroyed Puda and Gibin and acquired their lands. Kiotszyukyu lived more than eighty years. After his death his son Yangaochdjen ascended the throne and conquered India leaving there one of his generals to rule. From this period the Yueh-Chihs became the strongest and the richest house. The neighbouring states called him the Guishuan ruler but the Chinese court reserved for him the previous title of the Great Yuch-Chih."⁵²

51. Zograf, A.N., 1937.

52. Bichurin II, pp. 227-228. The translution of E. Charvannes is practically 'identical with Bichurin (Chavannes E., 1907, pp. 190-192) as also the translation of Pulleyblank (Pulleyblank E.G., 1966, 1968, p. 1).

Guishuan (more exactly Kiwei-sians)⁵³ is the Chinese transcription of the term "Kushan", known from the inscriptions on the coins. Thus Gerai was the first ruler of this Kushan dynasty probably at the time when this dynasty was just starting its ascent. He was probably the predecessor (father or grandfather) of the Kushan ruler Kiotszyukyu, mentioned on the coins.

The Kushan coins are found in a large number on the territories of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India. They are one of the main sources of the history of the Kushan kingdom. The Indian inscriptions are also of great importance in which the names of the Kushan kings are mentioned. Some information about the deeds of the Kushan Kings is preserved besides the Chinese in the Indian and Tibetan historical traditions. All this however is, highly fragmentary, difficult to compare and contradict.

Problem of Kushan Chronology.

The problem of Kushan chronology remains a stumbling block as scholars have been actively debating it for more than a hundred years. It seems that the starting point should be the inscriptions found in India and Pakistan carrying the names of the Kushan kings. Many of these inscriptions have dates but they do not mention the era they are related to. It cannot be ruled out that the chronology given in these inscription is calculated in two or several eras. It is well-known that in India there existed several parallel eras: the era starting with the nirvana (death) of Buddha, the era of Vikram — the Vikramaditya samvat (57 B.C.), the era of the Saka — Saka Kala (78 B.C.) and other eras. Scholars have also surmised that in ancient India chronological calculations were made in foreign eras as well: the Seleucidian,⁵⁴ as also the Parthian and other eras. Besides there is an assumption that in the Kushan period the events could have been counted from other dates, for example, from the date of intrusion of the Yueh-Chih into Bactria, the beginning of the rule of some kings, etc. The complication is

53. Pulleyblank E.G., 1962, p. 118.

54. Cunningham A., 1883; Sircar D.C., 1965, pp. 219-235; "The Age of Imperial Unity", 1951, pp. 154-158.

that in ancient India there was a practice not to mention hundred or thousand years but just tens and ones.

British scholar E. Thomas suggested in 1874 to link the era of Kanishka, the most famous among the Kushan kings, with the Seleucidian era (312 B.C.), but in the inscriptions related to this era the number of hundreds, that is "three" (hundred) was omitted. Hence Kanishka must have begun his reign (taking into consideration the recent discovery of inscriptions) in 9 B.C. The biggest expert of archaeology and numismatics of India, A Cunningham vacillated between the Vikram era and the date according to the Seleucidian era, and the other scholar D. Fergusson in 1884 advanced the idea that the period of Kanishka starts from the era of the Saka 78 B.C. This idea was accepted by Cunningham also. This date then became widely circulated in the historical literature. One of the most knowledgeable epigraphists and researchers of Khotano-Saks language, S. Konov, having studied meticulously all the sources on this question could not come to a single viewpoint. He took as starting point of the rule of Kanishka 128/29, 130, 134, 138 B.C. Taking into account the astronomical indications in the inscriptions, he tried to specify the date with the help of astronomers but could not reach a common conclusion. At last he expressed his opinion that the rule of Kanishka started around 200 B.C. These hesitations and the searches of such a big scholar show by themselves how complicated this problem was. At the same time along with the above-mentioned data many others were also advanced. For example, R. Ghirshman suggested 144 B.C.⁵⁵

In 1902 the articles of Indian scholar D.R. Bhandarkar were published. Analysing the facts of history, of the Kushans against the backdrop of Indian history and using the Indian inscriptions related to the Kushans, he reached completely paradoxical conclusions. The crux of his arguments was as follows. In his opinion (and it reflected the level of the development of

55. For excellent summary see: Van Lohuizen-de-Leuw J.E. 1949; pp. 1-72; Ghirshman R., 1957, pp. 690-722; Rosenfield I.M., 1967, pp. 253-258; Narain A.K. 1968. For a more detailed account see also: Zeimal E.B., 1968a.

scholarship of that period) there was the following sequence of the reign of the Kushan Kings: Kujula, Kadfiz Kujula Kara Kadfiz, the Nameless King and Vima Kadfiz. The inscription in Panjtar, dated year 123 of the unknown era in which the Kushan ruler figures but without any name, is in Bhandarkar's opinion connected with Kujula Kadfiz. Roughly he accepted that the latter started his reign three years earlier, that is in the year 120 of the unknown era. Bhandarkar considered that each of the four mentioned kings ruled twenty years, all together it came to 80 years and the reign of Vima Kadfiz should have ended in the year 200 of the unknown era. The inscriptions with the names of Kanishk, Huvishk and Vasudev known in that period were dated from 5 to 98 year of the unknown era. The researcher thought that it was the same era, but with the omission of hundreds, which meant that the rule of this group of kings started in 205 and ended in the year 298 of the unknown era. As a starting point of this era he suggested the acceptance of the so-called Saka era (established according to other sources) that is 78 A.D. Simple recalculation gives for the year 205 of the unknown era (according to the then known inscriptions) 283 A.D. as the commencement of the reign of Kanishka. Bhandarkar tried to show that, just within such a chronological determination, the Kushan history more clearly "fits" into the frame of the history of India.⁵⁶



Coins of the Kushan Kings

56. Bhandarkar D.R., 1902, pp. 269-302, 385, 386.

It is not difficult to notice the weak point of this hypothesis. The list of the rulers, from which Bhandarkar proceeded turned out to be inaccurate. Completely arbitrary is the assumption that every one of them ruled for twenty years (Kujula Kadfiz, according to the Chinese sources, might have ruled considerably longer).

Since lot of material has been collected. In the inscriptions known at present there is a gap from 200 to 299 years of the unknown era. In the inscription of the year 187 (or 184) Vima Kadfiz is mentioned.⁵⁷ According to numismatical data, following Kadfiz there ruled Kanishka, but the inscriptions with the name of Kanishka starts with the inscription dated from the first year (?), then follows another inscription dated from the second year, etc. — upto the 23 year; Vashiska — 24-28 years, Huvishka 28-60 years; Kanishka 11-41 years; Vasudeva — 64 or 67-98 years of the unknown era.⁵⁸ The question is which era precisely the writers of inscriptions of Kanishka and the succeeding kings had in mind.

Thus, for example, one of the leading specialists of this problem, Dutch Professor Lohuizen-de Leuw, having minutely studied all the available material came to the conclusion that “taking into account the present level of knowledge it must be admitted that the first year of the era of Kanishka should either coincide or be several years later than 200th year of the old era.” Proceeding from the idea of “compatibility” of the era she took 129 B.C. as the starting point. In this way the reign of Kanishka commenced in 78 B.C.⁵⁹

Some other scholars, also on the basis of this, and other materials are of the view that the year 78 A.D. is the beginning of the reign of Kanishka.⁶⁰

A scrupulous paleographic analysis by Pakistani scholar A. Dani⁶¹ allows one to come to the conclusion that “compatibility”

57. However there is an opinion that the identification of the name in this inscription with that of the king is doubtful — it was not Vima Kadfiz but some Kushan satrap (Sircar D.C., 1963, p. 139); according to Rapson this is the name of the local ruler of the mountain region.

58. Maric, A., 1958, pp. 386-393; Rosenfield J., 1967, 1968a, pp. 264-273; Zeimal E.V., 1968a, pp. 18-23, 47 (the full list of inscriptions).

59. Van Lohuizen-de Leuw J.E., 1949, pp. 63-65, 1-72, 302-307, Table A.B.

60. Sircar D.C., 1960, pp. 181-188.

of the eras is not contradicted but confirmed by the paleography of the inscriptions. It is a weighty but not decisive argument — Indian paleography is not so developed as to assess the decades on this basis with certainty.

However, there are (as mentioned above) other systems for dating as well relating the beginning of the reign of Kanishka to 103 A.D. (Narain), 128-129 A.D. (D. Marshall), 144 A.D. (R. Ghirshman), around 200 A.D. (the latest view of S. Konov), 235-236 A.D. (R. Gyobl), and 248 A.D. (R. Majumdar).

Recently Soviet scholar E.V. Zeimal came out with developed argumentation in favour of the hypothesis of Bhandarkar, according to which all the dates of the reigns of the Kushan kings are pushed back to a much later period.

Besides the inscriptions found in India and Pakistan he involved the numismatic data also. The scheme of relative chronology modified by E.V. Zeimal on the basis of the idea of Bhandarkar looks as follows (in the square brackets are given the reconstructed figures of hundreds, which are missing in the inscriptions).⁶²

It is not difficult to see that the date of commencement of the reign of Kujula Kadfiz is based on the date accepted by Bhandarkar. As for the date 160 A.D. — it is only relative, and for selection of this date perhaps the longevity of this king, as mentioned in the written sources, has played a role.

<i>Name of the Kings</i>	<i>Years according to inscriptions</i>	<i>Years A.D.</i>
Kujula Kadfiz	around 100-160	178-238
Vima Kadfiz	around 160-200	238-278
Kanishka I	around [2]00-[2]23	278-301
Vashiska	[2]24-[2]28	302-303
Huvishka	[2]28-[2]60	306-338
Kanishka II	[2]41	319
Vasudeva	[2]64-[2]98	342-376

61. Dani A.N., 1968, pp. 1-3.

62. Zeimal E.V., 1964, pp. 40-46; 1965, pp. 4-6; 1968b.

The single starting point for the establishment of the relative dating of the reign of Vima Kadfiz is the reference to it in the inscription of 184-187 A.D. and the early limit (160 A.D.) is linked to the upper (completely relative) limit of his predecessor Kujula Kadfiz. The end of the reign of Vima Kadfiz as 200 A.D. comes out of the assumption that from 200 A.D. or 201 A.D. (that is from 278 A.D.) commences the reign of Kanishka I. The latter is solely based on the hypothesis of Bhandarkar about the "compatibility" (after inserting the deletion of hundreds) of all these dates.

Thus, although the scheme of Bhandarkar, as modified by E.V. Zeimal, looks more logical, the main weakness of it — failure to prove the "compatibility" of the dates — is not removed (inspite of the paleographic arguments of A. Dani).⁶³ The opinion that the starting point of Kushan chronology is 78 A.D. (Sakera") remains disputable.

E.V. Zeimal put forward several additional important arguments in favour of the hypothesis of Bhandarkar. For some of the personalities and details by the Kushan coins he perceives the prototype in Roman minting. Particularly for the Kushan coins of Huvishka he finds the prototypes in Roman minting of the period; from the second quarter of the third century upto the first decade of the fourth century. Since in the Kushan minting these peculiarities could have appeared only after they had been worked out in the Roman minting, the corresponding Kushan coins of Huvishka should relate to the first half of the fourth century or to a much later period. This exactly is the argument which E.V. Zeimal considers to be in favour of 78 A.D. as the date of beginning of the unknown era, because then Huvishka should have ruled [(78+228) – (78+260)] in 306-338 A.D. The second numismatic argument on which Zeimal relies is the dating suggested by V.G. Lukonin of the Kushan-Sasanid coins (minted on the pattern of the coins by

63. One of the leading contemporary epigraphist D. Sircar (India) categorically denies the fact that in the dates of the inscriptions for the era of Kanishka hundreds are deleted as also the whole idea of the "compatibility" of the eras. (Sircar D.C., 1960, pp. 249-250; see also Mukherjee B.N., 1967, pp. 107, 110, 117).

Vasudeva and hence after him) and correspondingly the collapse of the Kushan kingdom in 70-80 years of the fourth century A.D. In this way the Iranian, Chinese and Indian sources are also drawn upon and interpreted.⁶⁴

The Bhandarkar-Zeimal hypothesis inspite of all its attractiveness remains so far just a hypothesis. The same numismatic material are interpreted by R. Gobl as evidence in favour of his chronological scheme the dates of which are "older" by almost half a century than the ones mentioned above.⁶⁵

Although the history of the Kushan state was unfolding on the vast territory and was connected with history of the Han China, Sasanid Iran and the states of India, we do not have undisputable synchronisms. Here is an example.

According to the Chinese historical chronicle of 5 January 230 A.D. a mission arrived in China from Po-t'iao, the king of the Yueh-Chihs. E. Chavennes considered this name as the possible Chinese version of the name of Vasudeva but thought that it was not proper to time it with that of Kushan king Vasudeva who ruled later after Kanishka and Huvishka.

In the opinion of Karlgren this name should have sounded as "Rua-d'ieu". Usually the initial Chinese *r* corresponds in foreign words to sounds *r* or *b*; here it is used for the sound *v*. P. Pelyo found a way out by suggesting that a change be made in the text and it should read Bua-d'ieu. Nevertheless he accepts the comparison with Vasudeva, though with a question mark. A.E. Pulleyblank considers this amendment possible. He is inclined to think that all the same this is Vasudeva but he does not confirm it with certainty and raises the question again — which Vasudeva it is. This name could have been popular in the Kushan royal house and several persons could have had this name.⁶⁶

For the solution of this complicated problem many times scholars took to other materials and observations besides those mentioned above: the joint discoveries in the hoards or in

64. Zeimal E.V., 1988b; Lukonin V.G., 1967, pp. 16-40.

65. See: Gobl R., 1964, p. 7; 1967.

66. Pelliot R., 1934, p. 40; Harmata J., 1965; Pulleyblank E.G., 1966-1968, p. 121.

archaeological layers of Kushan and Roman coins, data about local Indian (and Eastern Turkestan) mints, archaeological materials from the monuments where Kushan coins or the inscriptions are found, the art products, the unclear evidences of Indian and Tibetan traditions etc. However, all this does not allow simple interpretation.

In 1913 and in 1960 in London symposia on the date of the reign of Kanishka were organised. This problem was discussed at length in the International Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan period (Dushanbe, 1968). But again the scholars could not reach a single point of view.

It appears that the materials available to us are not yet enough even for the principal solution of the question about preferability of one or the other chronological scheme. It is possible to select arguments and pick up logical proofs for a scheme in which the beginning of the rule of Kanishka could be related to a year beginning with the second half of the first century A.D. and upto the second half of the third century A.D. In this connection, the evidences of some Indian inscriptions and Chinese and Western sources, about some or the other events taking place in the Kushan state, are related by contemporary historians to the rule of one or the other king. To use the apt expression of Indian scholar B.N. Puri, "attempting to settle them on the wandering islands of Kushan chronology." The work of B.N. Puri "*India under the Kushanas*"⁶⁷ is a useful collection of material which shows that for the solution of many questions of Kushan history, science has no objective criteria.

Territorial Annexations

"Guishuanskii prince Kiotswzyukyu" (in the ancient times this name according to P. Pelliot sounded as K'iaudz 'iau kiar) of the Chinese sources corresponds to the Kushan King Kujula Kadfiz of the coin legends (the first two parts of the Chinese name mean

67. Puri B.N., 1965.

“Kudzula” and the latter one “Kadfiz”)⁶⁸. Thus we know that he fought with Ansi, *i.e.*, Parthia. Further it is informed that this ruler subjugated Gaofa (or Kaofa), *i.e.*, Kabul. But about this dominion we are told that earlier it was dependent upon Ansi and only after defeating Ansi the Yueh-Chihs (Kushans) captured Gaofa.⁶⁹ (From this we can assume that the Kushans at this stage clashed not with Parthia but with semi-independent Eastern Parthian rulers and defeated them). After that blow was struck on Pud which in the ancient times sounded like b’uok-d’at and could reflect as E. Marq-vart thought an ethnonym of Paktia. (Herodotus IV, 44; VII, 67; Gekatei, fr. 178).⁷⁰

The question of Gibinya is more complicated. For its location we go by Italian scholar L. Petech who thinks that it is the north-western part of Hindustan — the province of Gandhara and Western Punjab.⁷¹

Thus, under Kujula Kadfiz who is often called Kadfiz I., the Kushan state had expanded considerably. It had crossed beyond the frontiers of Bactria and started embracing numerous regions and peoples.

Some information about the history of the Kushans during the reign of Kadfiz I can be obtained from the coins.⁷² There is a group of coins on the front side of which there is a portrait of one of the latest Graeco-Bactrian ruler Germei and inscription with his name. On the reverse side there is the figure of Gerakl and an inscription: “Kujula Kadfiz, Yabgu Kushan, firm in his faith”. Some scholars (for example, D. Sircar, A. Simonetta, V.M. Masson) think that these coins reflect the situation initially resulting from Kadfiz I moving into the mountainous regions of Central Afghanistan where he was temporarily compelled to recognize the supremacy of the Graeco-Bactrian King Germei; in

68. Pelliot P., 1934, p. 39 (the analogical form is given by B. Karlgren (see: Konow S., 1933, pp. 27-28.)

69. Bichurin II, p. 228.

70. Petech L., 1950, p. 69; compare: Masson N.M. and Romodin V.A., 1964, p. 68.

71. Petech L., pp. 69-70.

72. Cunningham A., 1892, pp. 6-8, 25-28 and subsequent information, publications and researches on Kushan coins.

the joint coins the Graeco-Bactrian ruler figures on the front side.⁷³ However, there exists a different opinion also, that it was not joint mintage but reproduction by Kadfiz I, of the earlier coins with change in his name in a new circulation. According to V.V. Tarn this had connection with Kadfiz's marriage with the daughter or sister of Germei, and the issue of coins with two names reflected the hereditary claims of Kadfiz I. However, these relational links have not been proved. Other scholars (Rapson, Bakhofer, Narain) also proceed from a similar prerequisite but in a more realistic version, that Kadfiz I continued minting the coins of Germei inserting his name on them because these coins were in wide circulation in this region.⁷⁴

Thus it is impossible to determine the circumstances in which these coins were minted.

The study of other coins minted by Kadfiz, only in his own name, shows the gradual change of title: from yabgu ("leader", "chief") to "Great King" and even "King of the Kings".⁷⁵

Perhaps the expansion of territories, the strengthening of power led to the growth of ambition: during his very long reign Kadfiz I from the ruler of a small region turned into a monarch to whom many countries and peoples paid obeisance.

About the annexation of a part of the territory of the north-western Hindustan by Kadfiz I testifies, besides written sources the abundant discovery of his coins there. In the settlement of Takshila (Sirkap) were found 2500 of them. The number of coins discovered in Central Asia is not large. In Tajikistan the coins of this king are found in Shahr-i-nau, Dushanbe, Kabadian,⁷⁶ Khorog and other places.

The coins with the name of Kadfiz I were minted only from copper. The earliest group of these coins consists of, according to

73. Sircar D.C., 1953, p. 138; Semonetta A.M., 1958, p. 171; V.M. Mayon, Romodin, V.A., 1964, pp. 158-159.

74. Tarn W., 1951, pp. 503-507; Narian D.K., 1968, pp. 160-162; Rosenfield J.M., 1967, pp. 12-13.

75. Marquart J., 1901, pp. 208-209.

76. Zeimal E.V., 1960, pp. 115-116.

E.V. Zeimal, which imitate the coins of Gernai. Among the coins of Kadfiz I there are copies of the early Imperial Roman coins.⁷⁷

There is one more large group of coins without the name of the ruler but with the title of "King of Kings, 'the great saviour'" ("Sotermegas"). Their discovery in Central Asia is relatively small; they are found in different places of Tajikistan. On the basis of some considerations some scholars (M.E. Masson, G.A. Pugachenkova, A.K. Narain) assume that these nameless coins were minted by Kadfiz I.⁷⁸ Such a hypothesis is very attractive but there are insurmountable numismatical difficulties. A. Simonetta thinks that the king who minted these coins ruled simultaneously with Kadfiz II but was removed by this king.⁷⁹ An opinion has been expressed many times that the coins of the "nameless king" were minted approximately by several synchronic rulers. E.V. Zeimal is of the opinion that the earliest coins of this series are parallel in their time to the coins of Kadfiz I and the latest ones precede the coins of Kadfiz II⁸⁰ or are parallel to them. At last there is a point of view that "Sotermegas" did not belong to the supreme rulers of the Kushan kingdom but was a lower-ranking ruler.⁸¹

The Chinese annals, following Kiotszyukyu (Kadfiz I), call his son Yangaochzhenya (in ancient times Iam-kau'tien).⁸² According to the coin data he was Vima Kadfiz. He assumed high sounding title of "the King of Kings, the Lord of the world, the Saviour". Going by the inscriptions and coin data the information in the

77. Gobl R., 1968; Zeimal E.V., 1965, pp. 6-7. Among the numismatists there are various assumptions about the Roman prototype to which the depictions on some coins of Kadfiz belong: to Roman coins of August Tiberi, Claudi and others, according to Rosenfield these depictions on the Kushan coins are given such a generalised interpretation that their exact identification with the Roman original is impossible (Rosenfield J.M., 1967, p. 13).

78. Masson M.E., 1950, Pugachenkova G.A., 1966a. According to A.K. Narain (Narain A.K., 1968, p. 8) these coins were issued by Kadfiz I in the first half of his rule.

79. Simonetta A., 1958, p. 171.

80. Zeimal E.V., 1965, p. 7.

81. Gobl R., 1968, p. 56.

82. Pelliot P., 1934, p. 39.

annals about the conquest by this ruler of many regions of northern India reflected the real state of affairs. In Mathura a stone statue was discovered in the inscription on which is seen the name of Vima Kadfiz,⁸³ and in Ladakh in the vicinity of Kalatse (Khalatse) — an inscription with his name and date 187 A.D. (the beginning of the era is not known). Some scholars think that Kadfiz II seized the whole of northern India including Kashmir (but the latter is under doubt).⁸⁴

The Coinage Reform of Kadfiz II

Kodfiz II undertook reform of the coinage system by introducing gold coins. By weight the gold coins of Kidfiz II usually followed the weight standard of Roman coins — “*dinarius aureus*”. In the Kushan mint there were double dinars, dinars, half dinars and quarter dinars (the weight of one dinar was about eight grams). From the end of 19th century the question of the closeness of this weight standard to the weight of Roman gold coins minted by Augustus also weighing around eight grams was discussed. In the foreign and Russian literature on this basis conclusion was repeatedly drawn that Kadfiz II copied the weight of his gold coins from the coins of Augustus and that they were minted in the epoch close to the time of Augustus. But as is known Augustus died in 14 B.C. and his coins of standard weight were minted even earlier since 19 B.C. After Augustus the weight of Roman gold coins gradually decreased and as a result of the reform of 64 A.D. it was established at 7.3 grams. Lohuizen-de Leeuw on this basis drew a conclusion that Kadfiz II started minting his coins before this reform, *i.e.*, prior to 64 A.D.⁸⁵

But as D. Mac Dowell recently showed the question was more complicated than it appears in the first brush with the issue. First, the introduction of standard weight gold coins was renewed in Rome even after the period of Augustus until 97 A.D. Secondly, the gold coins weighing around eight grams were introduced in the

83. Vogel J., 1930, p. 22, 11. But this is disputed by several scholars (Rosenfield J.M., 1967, pp. 144-145).

84. Ghirshman R., 1946, p. 142. Compare: Petech C., 1950, p. 75.

85. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw J.E., 1949, p. 365.

epoch of Augustus only from 19 to 12 B.C. and afterwards they vanished from circulation and were not in the treasury in the first half of the first century A.D. At that time in Rome there were in circulation only those coins weighed less than the gold coins of Kadfiz II. Moreover, it is impossible (using any chronological scheme) to relate to time of the rule of Kadfiz II to the end of the first century B.C.

Not only this opinion of Mac Dowell is worthy of being taken note of but also his conclusion that new reforms of Kadfiz II in this sphere were and could not be a simple copy of what was going on in Rome. In Rome as well as in the Kushan empire, such gold coins represented a considerably large amount. Because of the difference in weight the coins were not mutually exchangeable, but the traders conducting big commercial transactions used them in international trade where the problem of exchange was not difficult. The Roman and Kushan gold coins' according to this scholar, were not meant for "side by side circulation on one and even neighbouring territories."⁸⁶

Nevertheless we cannot fully ignore the abundant evidences of large trade of the Roman empire with India particularly with the Kushan Kingdom, as well as the numerous discoveries of Roman coins in India⁸⁷ and the undisputable influence of the Roman coins mint on that of the Kushans.⁸⁸ From all this it is evident that the stimulus for introduction of gold coins in the Kushan mint was the necessity of international trade and the establishment of weight standard of Kushan gold coins was not without influence of the Roman prototypes although, may be there was no direct imitation.

Kanishka and Prosperity of the Kushan Kingdom

The most famous among the Kushan rulers is Kanishka. The analysis of his name led to a discussion among scholars. H. Bailey suggested that the first part of his name originated from the word "Kan" ("small/young") and the word itself means "the youngest"

86. Mac Dowell D.W., 1960, pp. 63-68.

87. Wheeler M., 1955, pp. 141-202; Margabandho C., 1965, pp. 316-322.

88. Gobl R., 1960, p. 76.

or "the smallest".⁸⁹ W.B. Henning followed the above mentioned etymology of the word but he explained the suffix differently than H. Bailey.⁹⁰ V.V. Ivanov suggested consideration of this suffix as Tukhar and the word, as a whole, as hybrid Irano-Tukharan.⁹¹

If the name of Kanishka till date is not considered as fully explained, even more difficult situation is faced when we approach the question of the time of his rule. The absence of one or the other definite data does not make up for the abundant sharp hypotheses and conjectures. Different dates from 78 A.D. to 278 A.D. were suggested. In recent times some numismatists, both foreign and indigenous, give preference to later, (or relatively late) dates of the beginning of the reign of Kanishka which leads to sharp criticism of their opponents. Perhaps new discoveries, particularly archaeological, will lead to clarity in this question, but the current position is extremely far from clarity and certainty and along with the date of Kanishka the dates of the reign of other Kushan Kings are also lost in the conceptual determination of centuries.

The rule of Kanishka, according to the available data, continued for not less than 23 years. During his time the further expansion and consolidation of the Indian dominions of the Kushans took place: Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Uttar Pradesh (in the east upto Banaras) were under his rule. The capital was the city of Purushpur (modern Peshawar).⁹²

The territory of the Kushan state during Kanishka was not at all confined to northern India: it included almost the entire Afghanistan, many regions of Central Asia and of Eastern Turkestan.

Huan-tsian wrote: "Previously when Kanishka ruled, his fame spread to the neighbouring states and his military might was recognised by all. The princes to the west of China, paying tributes

89. Bailey H.W., 1968.

90. Henning W.B., 1965, pp. 83-84.

91. Ivanov V.V., 1967.

92. Sinha N.K., Bannerji A.C., 1954, p. 81; Sircar D.C., 1953, p. 141. On the basis of analysis of inscriptions of Kanishka some scholars have tried to outline the separate phases of conquests of Kanishka in India and of expansion of the territory of his state (Puri B.N., 1965, p. 37 and map).

and recognising the power of Kanishka, sent their hostages to this king."⁹³

In the inscriptions from 268 A.D. of the Sasanid King Shapur I on "Kaaba Zoroaster" it is indicated that Kushanshahr was spread upto Peshawar (Purushpur), Kash (Kashgar or Kesh-Shahrisubz), Sogd and the borders of Chach.⁹⁴ Archaeological monuments and discoveries of coins enable us to ascertain that the southern regions of modern Tajikistan (including Pamir) and Uzbekistan, as also the valley of Zerafshan were unquestionably included in the kingdom of Kanishka. It is not suggested that Fargana formed part of the Kushan state in the period of its largest expansion or was under its influence; the same can only be said about the regions on the middle current of Syr Daria. We cannot say anything with certainty on this question about Khwarezm: there is so far no strong basis in the literature for assertion of "Kushan Khwarezm".⁹⁵

So far as Eastern Turkistan is concerned even the tendentious Chinese sources acknowledge that this country was included in the state of the Yueh-Chihs, i.e., the Kushan state for sometime. In the beginning the Kushans and Han China had friendly relations. However, afterwards, choosing a convenient moment, the Han Court turned to treachery and arrested the Kushan emissary. This led to a series of wars. Consequently, in the beginning of the second century A.D. the Kushans managed to place their satrap⁹⁶ at the helm of Sule (Kashgar). The rulers of this country were "afraid" of the Yueh-Chihs.⁹⁷

Due to the vagueness of Kushan chronology, it is not known as yet whether the Kushan-Chinese wars are related to Kanishka or his predecessors.⁹⁸ The Indian tradition attributes to Kanishka the

93. Si-Yu-Ki, p. 173.

94. Sprengling M., 1953, p. 7, 14; Lukonin V.G., 1967, p. 16, 1969a, pp. 30-31.

95. Staviskii B. Ya, 1961a, pp. 111-112; Masson V.M., 1966b, etc.

96. For details see: Vasiliev L.S., 1955.

97. Bichurin, II, p. 232; Chavannes E., 1907, p. 205.

98. Pulleyblank E.G., 1966-1968, pp. 117-121.

possession of Tarim region in Eastern Turkestan as well as the conquest of Parthians in the west.⁹⁹

All this points to the fact that Kanishka was not only able to expand the size of his state but perhaps also to inflict heavy losses on the more powerful neighbouring states.

The Buddhist tradition firmly links the name of Kanishka with Buddhism. According to this tradition Kanishka turned to Buddhism and became an ardent follower of this religion. He built a large number of Buddhist religious shrines, stupas, vihars, etc. The convocation of the third Buddhist Council is also attributed to him.

Of course, there are evident exaggerations in the Buddhist tradition. However, this tradition has touched other sources as well. For example, Biruni informs about the construction by Kanishka of Buddhist shrine of Kanikchaitya in Peshawar.¹⁰⁰

At the root of the tradition there are undoubtedly some real events and tendencies. The following fact is characteristic in this connection. The predecessor of Kanishka, the Kushan King Vima Kadfiz had on his coins the depiction of only one Hindu God Shiva. But on the coins of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka, this god though present, is relegated to a modest place among the thirty other gods.¹⁰¹ Among these gods there are depictions of Buddha and inscriptions "Buddha and Buddha Shakyamuni."

On the coins of Kanishka there are other gods including the antique ones. Here we see Zoroastrian gods as well, such as Veretragn — the god of victory and wind, the famous Anahita, the Sun god and god of victory — Mitra, the symbol of wealth and royal power Ferro, etc. Among scholars there is no unanimity on questions whether this multiplicity of gods reflect the real situation in the Kushan pantheon or the reason for it were political goals — the appeal to different strata of population of the vast Kushan empire.

It is only during the rule of Kanishka that on the coins there appear for the first time inscriptions in the Bactrian (not in the Greek) language written in the Kushan variety of Greek script.

99. Ghirshman, R., 1946, pp. 145-146.

100. Biruni, 1963, p. 360.

101. Zeimal E.V., 1963, pp. 40-41.

This innovation of Kanishka turned out to be quite vital: such inscriptions in Kushan mint continued later also.

Thus, in the sphere of spiritual matters, during the reign of Kanishka, significant progress was taking place: against the backdrop of wide religious tolerance the importance of Buddhism was growing and the king himself was inclined towards it; the importance of the Bactrian language was growing which perhaps became the official or one of the official languages.

The mint of Kanishka was quite rich. The handicrafts and trade were growing. The Kushan state reached the zenith of its power. But simultaneously the centrifugal forces had also come to the fore: the multiplicity of the territories included in the Kushan state, separatism of individual rulers and the offensive policy of the Sasanid kingdom (since 226 A.D.) which was formed in Iran on the ruins of the Parthian state and which had started gaining strength.

The Fall of the Kushan Kingdom. The Kushans and The Sasanids

After Kanishka, according to Indian inscriptions, there was a ruler by the name Vasishka. However, there are no coins in his name though there are coins in the name of Hoerko (*i.e.*, Hoeshko, as in the Bactrian script the sound "sh" was pronounced as "r") who according to the sound in the inscriptions is called Huvishka.¹⁰² He ruled for more than three decades. Among other outstanding rulers who ruled for a long time the name of Vasudeva deserves to be mentioned. During his reign in the pantheon of coins there remained only god Shiva from among the great number of gods. E.V. Zeimal draws attention to the depiction of Shiva on the coins of Vasudeva (as also on the coins of Vima Kadfiz) in a form which is closer to the variant of later depiction of Shiva and has the attributes of the different varieties of Shaivism characterising the extreme form of intolerance of other religions.¹⁰³

102. The data about Huvishka's rule are very scarce and that is why the assertion of B.N. Puri that "the reign of Huvishka perhaps marks the most bright period of Kushan history" (Puri B.N., 1965, p. 116) has no real basis.

103. Zeimal E.V., 1965, p. 14; About Shaivism in the Kushan period, see: Puri B.N., 1965, pp. 138-139.



Kushan-Sasanid Coin with the Name of Varakhran

Above, there has already been mentioned the strengthening of the Iranian Sasanid state. The Sasanid King Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) undertook a military campaign in the East in the forties of the third century A.D. In their inscriptions he and his successors call themselves "the Kings of Sakastan, Turkestan and India upto the sea coast."¹⁰⁴

According to V.G. Lukonin actually Shapur I succeeded in conquering only the peripheral regions of the former Parthian state, particularly Merv and Seistan. Information of the inscription of 262 A.D. in "Kaaba Zoroastra" about Kushanshahr has been mentioned above. In this inscription before enlisting the regions (including Kushanshahr) Shapur I says: "I possess" and after enlisting he specifies: "all of them have paid tribute to us and are our subjects". There is an opinion that Kushanshahr might not have been incorporated into the Sasanid state and only paid tribute,¹⁰⁵ but usually it is considered that Kushanshahr was included in the Sasanid state.¹⁰⁶ How long this incorporation lasted (may be it was dependence of the Kushan rulers on Sasanid kings) is not possible to determine. The information in the sources does not tally and is even contradictory. On one side Arab historian Tabri informs that the first among the Sasanid, Artashir I, captured Merv, Balkh, Khwarezm "upto the far-flung borders of Khorasan."¹⁰⁷ This information, as a rule, is taken as a

104. Lukonin V.G., 1969a, pp. 34-37.

105. Ibid., p. 301.

106. ITN I, p. 37; Livshits B.A., 1969, p. 56.

107. Nöldeke Th., 1879, pp. 17-18.



Kushan Warriors (on the basis of Sculpture from Khalchayan)



Kushan Kings in warrior dress
1- from the coins of Kanishka
2- from the coins of Vasudev

proven fact and only individual scholars doubt it.¹⁰⁸ If we consider that Tabri and the direct meaning of the inscription in "Kaaba Zoroastra" are precise, one evidence which is derived from the Manichei sources, does not tally with this information.

During his lifetime Mani — the founder of the Manichean religion — sent a preacher Mar Ammo to the East (in the middle of the seventies of the third century A.D.). Having gone through Khorasan, he reached the borders of the Kushans; later he is mentioned in Zamba (Zemm city, crossing through the Amu Daria in the region of modern Kirkee). Perhaps the last point of the travel of Mar Ammo — Varuchan city (in the region of Balkh) — which was under the rule of the Kushan Kings¹⁰⁹ but possibly under the supreme power of the Sasanid state or its protectorate.

Thus the Sasanids nevertheless succeeded in inflicting a blow and capturing considerable part of the Kushan dominions. But when?

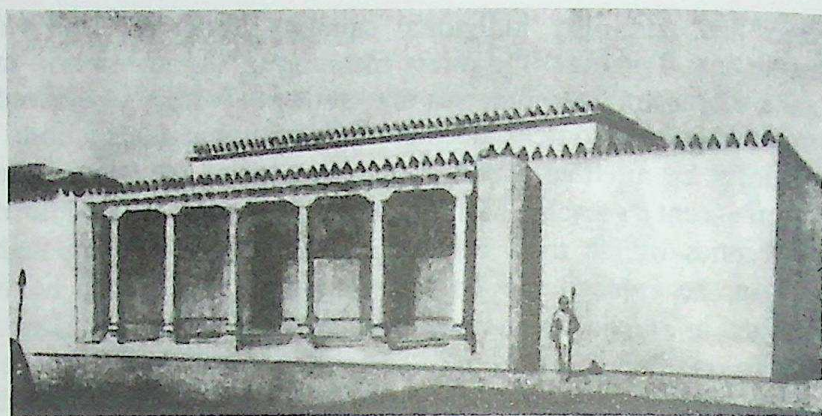
The problem of the time of the defeat of the Kushan state at the hands of the Sasanids cannot be solved without relating it to the question of the date of the so-called Sasanid-Kushan and Kushan-Sasanid coins. Numismatists and historians, such as A. Cunningham, E. Herzfeld, A. Bivar and V.G. Lukonin, R. Gobl and others, have studied this problem. A part of these coins was minted in the Sasanid style. They carried inscription in the middle Persian language and were brought out by the mints at Merv and Herat. Others were minted in the style of the later Kushan coins with the name of Vasudeva. Here the inscription is also in the middle Persian language but in the Kushan script some of them carry the word "Bakhlo" (Balkh). E. Herzfeld suggested that all coins, which were brought out in Kushan style, were minted in Balkh,¹¹⁰ even those on which the city was not mentioned. However, Bivar expressed well-substantiated doubt and assumed that the main mint was located in the region of Kabul.¹¹¹

108. Lukonin V.G., 1969a, pp. 22-27.

109. The Manichean texts about this travel have been studied by V.B. Henning (1944, pp. 85-90; 1958, p. 94).

110. Herzfeld E., 1931, p. 11.

111. Bivar A.D.H., 1956, p. 17.



Khalchayan: Reconstruction of the Palace

On one of these coins is a legend: "bowing before Mazda, the Lord Hormizd, the great King of Kings" and the mint of Merv is mentioned. On other coins the names of Artashir, Peroz, Varahran are mentioned. Earlier it was suggested, particularly by E. Herzfeld, that Hormizd on Kushan-Sasanid coins was the Shanshah of Iran Hormizd II (302-309 A.D.). The beginning of the issue of these coins was generally dated to the middle of the third century A.D. A detailed historical analysis led V.G. Lukonin to the conclusion that such a direct identification was not correct. He proved that the Kushan-Sasanid (and Sasanid-Kushan) coins were minted by Sasanid princes (some of them never became the Shanshah of Iran) from the middle of the fourth upto the middle of the fifth century A.D.¹¹²

The acceptance of this point of view to some extent is an argument in favour of later dates of the Kushan rulers and the collapse of the Kushan state, not in the third but in the fourth century A.D. However, there are arguments against the hypothesis of V.G. Lukonin and no final conclusion can be drawn for present. The collapse of the Kushan state cannot be considered as a, one-act event: it continued over a long period, under the influence of internal and external factors.

We have examined the mutual relations of the Kushan and the Sasanid state. But the Kushan state had to wage a struggle in

112. Lukonin V.G., 1967.

several directions: there were regroupings among the Kushans themselves. About this we are informed by the Chinese chronicles: "...the brave Yueh-Chih King Tsidolo crossed with his troops the high mountain, attacked northern India and defeated five states to the north of Gantolo (*i.e.*, Gandhar)." ¹¹³ "King Tsidolo" is the Chinese name of Kidara — one of the Kushan rulers in the second half or more likely in the end of the fourth century A.D. who captured power in a considerable portion of the old Kushan state. Along with this a part of Central Asia came under the rule of the Hionits tribes. At the end the power went to the Ephtalites. The continuous wars of the fourth and fifth centuries inflicted destructive blows to the situation in Central Asia.

4. Central Asian Cities and Settlements in Kushan Times — *Northern Bactria*

On the territory of Afghanistan and northern Hindustan many monuments of the Kushan period have been studied including those of large cities such as Begram (not far away from Kabul) — ancient Kapisa. ¹¹⁴ Takshila (near Rawalpindi) — ancient Takkasila or Takshashila, ¹¹⁵ Charsada (to the north-east of Peshawar) — ancient Pushkalavati ¹¹⁶ and others. Soviet archaeological expeditions dug out many cities and settlements of Kushan period in Central Asia. The material is so large that we are giving only a short and selective information about some of the studied monuments.

One of the largest urban centres of northern Bactria in the Kushan period was Termez. The city in this place (near the modern city) existed over a period of one millennium. That is why the archaeological layers of the Kushan period are overlapped by later layers. Termez in the Kushan period occupied a large area. On its territory were located large cult centres — Buddhist monasteries

113. Bichurin II, p. 264.

114. Hackin J., Hackin R., 1939; Ghirshman R., 1946; Karl J., Hamelin P., 1954.

115. Marshall J., 1956; Ilyin G.F., 1958.

116. Wheeler M., 1962.

Kara-tepe and Fayaz-tepe. In the city there were handicraft workshops, including pottery.

Kushan Termez was one of the centres of metallurgical (and perhaps metallic) production — here in the layers of the Kushan period have been found numerous balls — palm-like pieces of melted iron which were obtained in the process of primitive melting. On the basis of study of some fragments of stone architecture it can be assumed that in Termez there were a large number of monumental structures.

A very large city existed near the settlement of Shahrināu. The length of the city wall extended upto seven kilometres and the entire area encircled by them was around 350 hectares.¹¹⁷ Here, besides coins, a magnificent stone capital with human depictions was discovered.

Emerging in the Graeco-Bactrian period the city of Kei-Kabad-shah (Kabodiyon district) existed in the Kushan period also. It was protected by strong defensive walls which surrounded its rectangular area (375 × 285 metres). On the long sides there were nine towers and on the short sides seven towers. Besides, there were towers on every corner. All the towers were rectangular. The excavated parts of the walls revealed that from the internal side they were encircled by a corridor divided into compartments. Rectangular rooms were adjacent to it. Here many articles have been discovered. Among them are ceramics, statues and jewellery.¹¹⁸

Eight kilometres from the modern city of Yavan there was another big city of the Kushan period. Its area was approximately forty hectares. Here there is an elevated square resembling a citadel. It is adjoined by a high hillock upto eight metres in height and 380 × 200 metres in size. All this area is resembling surrounded by a city wall. Outside the wall there were individual plots and burial places. The excavations were made mainly in the citadel and also on other territories. The common construction sites were dug out — small rooms form clusters situated on the

117. Davidovich E. A, 1956, pp. 76-77.

118. Kuzmina E.E. and Pevzner S.B., 1956; Mandelshtam A.M. and Pevzner S.B., 1958.

sides of narrow lane or blind alley. In the later period, the constructions were generally two-storeyed. The remnants of constructions of the preceding period have also been excavated. The ten metre thick foundation of the citadel, contains the ruins of the consecutive constructions of five periods, the lowest is dated from the first century B.C. to the threshold of our era, the uppermost from the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. The evolution of material culture particularly ceramics can be traced. Here articles made of bones (for example, pinholes with fixed decoration), metallic jewellery and articles such as grain pounders, millstones, etc.¹¹⁹ have been found.



Town of Toprak-kala, III C.A.D., (Fragment of Male Head)

The settlement on the site of Saksan-Okhur (Parhar region) continued to exist in the Kushan period.

One of the most beautiful monuments of this period is the complex in Khalchayan (near Denau). Here in Khanaka-tepe is situated a palace (or temple) building. The front part of it is in the form of a four column *aiwan* (gallery) 16.5 metre long. From it is three passages (one central and two side ones) one could enter the main elongated hall. Besides this there were extra rooms and

119. Litvinskii B.A., 1967a.

corridors. The rooms of this building were decorated by splendid clay sculptures and wall paintings. In Khanaka-tepe, other constructions including two-tiered ones have been discovered.

In Surhan Darya region, besides Khalchayan, a large number of monuments of the Kushan period have been found, for example, Dalverzin-tepe,¹²⁰ Khairabad-tepe, Zar-tepe¹²¹ and others.

Sogd, Fargana, Chach and Khwarezm

The cities and settlements of Sogd, Fargana and Chach in the Kushan period have been studied in lesser degree than those in the northern Bactria. However, it is known that in these regions considerable growth of urban life had taken place.

Samarkand was a large city. In Sogd there were a large number of small settlements. One of them was a fortified settlement Tals-e-Barzu.¹²² On the territory of Fargana and Ustrushana, mention may be made of the settlements of Munchak-tepe near Begovat, the settlement in the region of Leninabad fortress, the settlement near Ashta, Shurabashat, Chun-tepe and others. The material culture of Fargana settlement was distinct in its originality. There were great differences inside Fargana itself.

Along the middle course of Syr Daria — on the territory of the Fargana region and adjacent districts — the Kaunchin-jun culture named after the settlement Kaunchi-tepe and Jun sepulcher, the lower layers of the settlement was developing. Kaunchi go back to the second-first centuries B.C. It continued to



**Under Mitowe
(Document on Wood
from the palace Archive
in Toprak-kala)**

120. Pugachenkova G.A., 1966b.

121. Albaum L.I., 1960.

122. See Grigoriev G.V., 1948.

exist till the middle of the first millennium A.D. To this time are related the settlements of Ming-Uryuk, Alimbai-tepe, Kugait tepe, Ak-tobe, Shaushukum-tobe¹²³ and others.

There were a large number of cities and settlements in Khwarezm. The city bearing the name Toprak-kala has been studied in detail. This city was in the shape of a big rectangle (500 × 350 metres) which was encircled by a wall of raw bricks with loopholes and towers. The centre of the city was intersected by a narrow street along the two sides of which stretched big residential areas divided by small lanes.

The main building of the city was a grand three-tower castle — the residence of the kings of the Khwarezmian dynasty. This inaccessible twenty-five metre high palace stood proudly over the city. Its central parts area was 80 × 80 metres. The constructions were double-storeyed and served different purposes. A cluster of gala halls has been discovered including the grand "hall of the kings" (280 sq. metres).

Along its walls extended the pedestals divided by partitions on small sections. Here were sculptures of Khwarezmian kings and queens, of nobility and gods. On the walls and niches there were splendid murals. The other portions of the palace were also decorated by sculpture reliefs and paintings. Among the auxiliary constructions one may mention those which represented "armoury" (weapon store and workshop). The remnants of the archives have also been found.¹²⁴

5. Economy of Central Asia in the Kushan Period

Agriculture, Irrigation

Detailed archaeological investigation of vast territory by archaeologists has shown that almost all the main regions of Central Asia were developed for agriculture. In the valleys, irrigated cultivation was prevailing and the cattle breeding was

123. Levina L.M., 1967; Maksimova A.G. and others, 1968.

124. Tolstov S.P., 1962, pp. 204-226; Rapoport Y.A., 1968; Nerazik E.E., 1969.

also developing. The irrigation works had acquired a grandiose range. An entire system of canals was built and functioned in Khwarezm, Zeravshan valley, etc. Ancient canals of the Kushan period were discovered in Tajikistan also particularly in the Vaksh valley. For irrigation the water not only from the rivers but also from the springs was used which at that time undoubtedly were more numerous than now. Thus, for example, in the northern part of the Vaksh valley where the bulk of lands were irrigated by the main canal drawn from the Vaksh river a cluster of settlements, for example, the city of Halkajar near Uyala was situated on the upper terrace where nowadays water is provided by pumps developed. In the Kushan times such settlements and surrounding fields were supplied water from springs. Along with this, as in the Yavan valley, land cultivation was also practised. Such cultivation was widespread in the mountainous and foothill regions. During the Kushan period the whole valley of upper Zeravshan upto contemporary Macha was developed for agriculture.¹²⁵

The agriculture technique continued to remain highly primitive. Perhaps irrigation was more advanced. During excavation of Tal-e-Barzu an iron cap of *omach* (wooden plough) was found.¹²⁶

In the first century A.D. millstones were beginning to spread. The oldest hand millstones were found in one of the sepulchres in the Karamazar mountains. In the beginning the millstones were very small. They increased considerably in size and in number also in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

Written sources and archaeological discoveries testify to the fact that in the Kushan period Central Asian farmers cultivated almost everything known in mediaeval times: cereals, essential and forage crops, horticulture etc. A variety of grades is typical of the agriculture in this period. Thus, for example, in Khwarezm of third-fourth centuries A.D. both types of grapes — wine as well as table grapes were cultivated. Selection work by people which was conducted from one generation to the other enabled the cultivation of high grade and locally adaptable crops. It is not accidental that

125. Staviskii B. Ya., 1961.

126. ITNI, pp. 360-370.

the neighbours of Central Asia borrowed several agricultural crops from its people (for example, the Chinese borrowed the culture of lucerne and walnuts).

In the valleys surrounded by mountains particularly in the Fargana valley, distant pasture cattle breeding was developing which was associated with semi-nomadic way of life of some part of population with its seasonal migrations. The high breed cattle of the inhabitants of Fargana, especially the Fargana horses, were the cause of envy of neighbours and were widely exported from Fargana.

Construction Works and Handicrafts

Archaeological excavations have revealed the following types of construction: (1) Palace constructions, (2) Buildings for religious worship, (3) Residential houses, (4) Constructions for production, (5) Store houses, (6) Fortifications (7) Irrigation works, etc. Most of the types of these constructions were found not in isolation but in combination with each other. A distinctive functional identification of concrete monuments is not always possible: for example it cannot be denied that in Khalchayan there was a palace but not a temple.

Social buildings were often of the monumental character. The castles and palaces of the rulers were considerably large in size built on high platforms and were surrounded by strong fortifications. Large halls with high ceilings were decorated with splendid works of art and beautiful murals. The walls were quite massive.

Among the religious worship buildings some were small. Thus, for example, the central part of the Buddhist sanctuary in Airtam (near Termez) was very small but it was decorated with stone high reliefs (the famous Airtam frieze).

The residential constructions were not always of high quality. Usually these were small rooms the walls of which were covered by simple brick plastering. There were also large rooms with alabaster plastering of walls. Apparently the character and planning of residential constructions reflect both local traditions as well as social and property differentiation of society.

The Central Asian engineers and fortificators achieved notable success. The strong fort walls, strengthened by protruding towers, complicated structures in front of the gates, closely set up loopholes — all these were on the level of best developed fortifications of their times. In the valleys of Western Pamir huge fortifications were constructed: Kaakhka, Yamchun and others, which were situated on the main communication line and formed the system of mutually linked long lasting fortifications.¹²⁷

In constructions a variety of materials was used. For constructing the walls blocks and raw bricks were commonly used (the square-shaped brick in size on one side from 32 to 44 centimetres was widely used). Sometimes, especially in the mountains material stone blocks were used for walls. Baked bricks were used scarcely. In Bactria the continuation of Hellenistic tradition, along with the existence of corresponding resources, led to the wide use of stone blocks for bearing constructions and for decoration: simple, and more complicated in profile “attic” base of columns; the stone stems of columns; magnificent stone capitals, which modify and develop the type of Korinf capital (on the capital found in Shahrinaw, the depictions of human figures, griffins); stone pedestals of pilaster etc. The stems of columns and ceilings were often wooden. In ceilings the ceramic tiles were also used. The constructions of ceilings were done in the shape of vaults and arcs in which columns and beams were used. Vaults and arcs were used in comparatively small openings. Vaults were constructed by the technique of tilted cuts.

Handicraft production developed both in big cities as well as less populated places. We know about this due to numerous discoveries of the articles of material culture and whole handicrafts workshops. Thus, for example, at many places remnants of pottery products have been found. It is known that potters baked their products in the furnaces of several types. In the same furnaces the terracottas also were baked. The ceramic wares of this period were discovered in a large number during the excavations. The variety of types and forms of vessels is very big; the vessels satisfy very

127. About Wakhan fortresses see Bernshtam A.N. 1952; Babayev A., 1965;

high standards, particularly true is of dining and fancy crockery. Thus goblets from the sepulchre in Tup-khana (in Gissar) are made of exquisitely thin porcelain, meticulously polished and smooth. Two thousand years have passed and still were yet they produce a sound as if they were made of crystal. The fancy chinaware is covered by different stamped decorations and have figured handles.

Metallic utensils and jewellery were also produced everywhere. Bronze vessels, candle stands, mirrors, bracelets, earrops, rings and many other articles were used in everyday life of the people. The collection of these articles was very large and the quality of production high. Castings have been found in which moulding of the articles was done.

Glasswares are also represented by various articles. Particularly, beads are plentiful among which mosaic beads glittering with all colours of the rainbow are distinguishable; mosaic beads with human depictions have been found. The two-layer gold-plated beads are very impressive: their central part is covered with a very thin gold foil and external layer is made of transparent colourless glass.

The weapon workshops' produce are found in abundance. the long-range weapon — bow — was perfected in this period. A special type of complex bow having a five-fold form and covered with bone and horn plates was in much use. The home of this powerful weapon is Central Asia. Later it spread to Sasanid Iran. That is why the widespread name "Sasanid" in Western literature is inaccurate. It should be named "Kushan-Sasanid" as was suggested by Soviet scholars. From Central Asia this type of bow penetrated among the Sarmats and further to the west upto Scotland, in the south to Iran and India and in the east to China.¹²⁸ During excavations in Central Asia bone and horn — plates were found which were covering the surface of the bow and in some cases the whole reconstructable complexly made bows. Arrows were made of wood or reed. The arrowheads were made of iron and of several types. The most widespread were the arrowheads

128. Litvinskii B.A., 1966, Compare Khazanov A.M., 1966.

with cuttings and three angled blades. At the end of this period complex-profiled arrowheads appeared.¹²⁹

The warriors were armed with swords and daggers. In Central Asia of the first century A.D. there were in large use big (1.2 metre long) iron double-blade swords without cross and with a large handle. Among other types of weapons mention may be made of spears, battle axes and slings.

For construction and functioning of handicraft workshops it was necessary to have raw material. The extraction of minerals increased sharply in the Kushan period. From the depth of the earth were extracted the metallic ores,¹³⁰ construction materials and semi-precious and precious stones, etc. A part of the produce of mining and metallic handicrafts was exported.

Foreign and Domestic Trade

For the Kushan epoch the existence of a developed coinage system of different denominations and abundant minting is characteristic. All this testifies to the existence, in the country of, commodity production and exchange. In this connection the significant fact is that the main part of the Kushan exchange consisted of copper coins. This speaks of introduction of monetary exchange in the sphere of everyday life.¹³¹ During the portrayal of historical canvas of the Kushan Kingdom some important changes, in the Kushan minting in different periods, have already been mentioned. At the same time it is to be noted that the numismatists so far have paid exceptional attention to the classificational treatment of the Kushan coins and to the question of iconography etc. The social and economic side has thus far remained unelaborated.

Along with the internal trade the external trade also attained a high development. Pliny (XII, 84) informs about the great bulk of

129. Litvinskii B.A., 1965.

130. Undoubtedly gold was mined on a large scale. Perhaps the Central Asian mines were the main source of gold used by the Kushan mints; the rest of the metal was obtained from Afghanistan, India and through trade with other countries; apparently remelting of Roman gold coins also took place.

131. Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, p. 183.

imports (100 million sestertsiis) from India, the country of Sers (Eastern Turkestan) and Arabia to the Roman empire. A certain part of this import was made from the territories of the Kushan kingdom including Central Asia. Thus in the words of Pliny highly valuable iron was exported from serika to the Roman empire As M. Khvostov suggests the question is about the import into the Roman empire not of the iron itself but its products.¹³² One can also think that at least some of this iron, just like other products, came from Central Asia. For the later period — mediaeval times — the export of iron products from Central Asia is many times noted by Arab geographers of 9th-10th centuries.

There are indications that the Bactrian traders came to the Roman empire, to one of the largest trade centres — Alexandria, in Egypt. From the other side the Roman traders also, came to Central Asia.¹³³

In Central Asia large number of Roman products have been found along with the Roman coins.¹³⁴ All this is clearly linked to the large scale of the Roman — Central Asian trade. The import into Central Asia of articles of Roman (to be precise Mediterranean) production enabled the production of similar goods in Central Asia itself.¹³⁵ The Roman art products considerably influenced the evolution of Central Asian art especially the formation of the Gandhar school of art which was prevalent in north-west India, Afghanistan and perhaps in the southern Central Asia.

There was also trade with China. Through Central Asia passed the "Silk Route" along which the caravans with silk travelled to the West.¹³⁶ The silk products also got absorbed in Central Asia itself. Thus for instance, if the information given by Flora (3, 11) is to be trusted the Parthians in the middle of the first century B.C. had silk banners. Besides silk there came to Central Asia from

132. Khvostov M., 1907, p. 156.

133. Staviskii B. Ya., 1964 v, p.180

134. For list of finds see Staviskii B. Ya., 1964 v; Masson V. M., 1966 a.

135. Litvinskii B.A., Tursunov N.O., 1979.

136. For the best research of written sources on this topic see: Herrman A., 1938.

China bronze mirrors, and lacquered articles, etc. The Central Asian export to China was also large.¹³⁷

In the second book of "Mahabharat" — "Sabhaparva" which is dated to the fourth century B.C. the gifts brought to the Pandava king Yudhishtar, residing in the region of modern Delhi by the representatives of different people including those of Central Asia are mentioned. These representatives brought the gifts which obviously corresponded to the usual articles of import from these regions. For example, from the country of Bahli (Bactria) were brought "woollen blankets" — proportionate, smooth and of beautiful colours — different textiles, sheep skins, weapons, precious stones; "Sakas", "Tukhars" and "Kankas", brought horses capable of undertaking long and arduous journeys" (Mahabharat II, 47).

Archaeological data show that trade was conducted with the near — Ural, and Volga Sarmat tribes, also. Through their territories trade routes passed, which linked Central Asia with the Caucasus and the region near the Black Sea.

Mention has already been made about the appearance of the Bactrians in Alexandria, in Egypt. The Sogdians set up whole trade factories far away from the territory of Sogd. In Dunhuan (Eastern Turkestan) letters from the beginning of fourth century B.C. in the Sogdian language have been found. One of these letters recalls that in Druan (Dunhuan) 100 free (or noble) men from Samarkand were living. W.B. Henning rightly estimates that the total number of settlers from Samarkand in this city, along with the number of slaves and family members, must be running into thousands. Several of these letters contain information about trade and prices, etc. The Sogdians living in Eastern Turkestan maintained close contacts with their metropolis Samarkand where their relatives continued to reside.¹³⁸

137. Vasiliev L.S., 1958.

138. These letters have been published under the title "Old Sogdian, Letters". See Reichelt H., 1931. See also: Rosenberg F.A., 1932; the most significant research on this subject is: Henning W.B., 1948.

6. Culture and Religion of Kushan Central Asia

Old Relics of Written Language

The Kushan period is characterised by serious progress in the sphere of spiritual culture of the peoples of Central Asia. It was a period of complex and contradictory phenomena, intertwined tendencies and influences.¹³⁹

In the fourth-second centuries B.C. local written language on the basis of Aramaic appears in Central Asian.

The oldest relics of Sogdian script are the inscriptions on Sogdian coins from the beginning of our era. Further follows the "old Sogdian scripts". In them signs are different from each other and mostly unconnected with each other. This script had not yet gone too far from its Aramaic prototype. At the same time, according to Livshits, these scripts show that in that period the main norms of the Sogdian written language were already formed, which were preserved until at least the tenth century A.D.

"Sogdian Old Letters", which as W.B. Henning showed, are dated 312-313 A.D.¹⁴⁰, and are not only important historical documents but also examples, of epistolary prose. In them the events of human life are reflected in simple truthfulness. The onslaught of the Huns, the alarming days of the Sogdian colony, fear, indignation and love — the whole gamut of human feelings and sufferings have been engraved in these documents without any literary ornamentation. Bitterness and resentment penetrate in the letter written by young Sogdian Mevanha (this name meant "tiger cub" or "cat") addressed to her mother in Samarkand. Her guardian, who is called Nanidat, wants to marry her against her wishes and she dictates to the scribe: "I would better be the wife of a dog or a swine than the wife of Nanidat" (translation by V.A. Livshits). After the lapse of some time Mevanha again writes to her mother. She not only became the wife of Nanidat but also wrote about her husband and of his love and respect. Such contradictions are not rare in the world literature.

139. Gafurov B.G., 1968.

140. Henning W.B., 1958, pp. 52-56; Livshits V.A., 1962a, pp. 135-136.

In Surkh-Kotal (to the south of Kunduz) several inscriptions, written in Kushan variety of Greek alphabets, have been found. The language of the inscriptions happened to be East Iranian, which was not known earlier. This caused difficulty in its decipherment by A. Marik, E. Benvenist, W. Henning, I. Gershevich, Ya. Harmatta, H. Humbakh and others. One inscription consisted of 25 lines. So far no commonly agreed translation of it exists as the researchers have disagreement over many points, particularly over who in the inscription is implied as (or named) the builder of the temple. One of the likely variant of the translation has been offered by V.A., Livshits: "This acropolis temple [named], Kanishka the victorious, was built by the lord king in honour of Kanishka and when the initial construction of the acropolis was finished, all the reservoirs of water inside the temple went dry as a result of which the acropolis was left without water and when as a result of scorching heat drought came, the gods were taken away from their nest [temple] their sculptures and paintings and the acropolis became deserted till the time when in the thirty first year of the rule in the month of nisan came here to the temple satrap Nokonzok loved by the king, most friendly to the king, shining ["son of the god"] doing good, full of virtues, pure in thoughts towards everyone. Afterwards he built a wall around the acropolis, dug out a well, brought water, inlaid it with stone so that the people in the acropolis did not feel scarcity of water [or "so that the acropolis did not feel the scarcity of pure water"] and in the case of drought arising from the scorching summer heat, the gods were not taken away from their nest and so that the acropolis did not stand empty. And above the well water-lifting device was installed, the water reservoir was also built and thanks to this well and water-lifting device the whole acropolis became prosperous. And this well and this [further a word appears which can be approximately interpreted as "window", or "tower"] were made by Hirgoman, Burzmihir, son of Kuzgashka, Astilgantsig and Nokonzok, satraps, obedient to the order of the king as also wrote Eevman with Mihraman, Buremihir-puhrom and Amihraman."¹⁴¹

141. Translation published in the book: Masson V.M., Romodin V.A., 1964, I, pp. 192-193.

The language of this inscription occupies a middle position between Pushto and the Pamir languages — Munjan and Yidga from one side and Sogdian, Khwarezmian and Parthian from the other. We are indebted to the insight of the leading Iranian W.B. Henning for identification of the language of the inscription as Bactrian¹⁴² was till recently which practically unknown (inscriptions on Kushan coins, gems, and ceramics did not make it possible because of its conciseness to characterise it). By its grammatical structure the Bactrian language moved away from the ancient type much farther than the East Iranian languages.¹⁴³

In the opinion of the linguists, in the Surkh-Kotal inscriptions as also in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushan times only few terms of the original Saka dialect "Kushan" are found. It can be imagined that the Kushans, on the territory of Bactria, got mixed up with the Bactrians and were to some extent assimilated by them and for written language used the Bactrian language; though with many borrowed elements from other Iranian and Indian languages. In the inscriptions on Kushan coins the same Bactrian language and script was used.

From the times of Kanishka the Greek script was used. To the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet one more was added. However, in practice fewer letters were used. The Kushan or to be more exact Bactrian script is a combination of sharp-angled rectangular and round form of majority of letters. Later semi-italic type was developed.¹⁴⁴

Following the Sogdian, Parthian and Khwarezmian languages the Bactrian language also appeared. The long Surkh-Kotal inscription is the first literary monument in the Bactrian language. In its genre it resembles Achaemenid and Sasanid inscriptions. However in contrast to the royal inscriptions in the Surkh-Kotal inscription glorification is almost completely absent. This becomes clearly obvious if it is compared with the inscription of Darius in

142. Henning W.B., 1960, pp. 47-48.

143. Livshits V.A., 1962a; pp. 142-143.

144. Livshits V.A., 1967, pp. 162-163; 1969.

Suzakh (DSI)¹⁴⁵ which is also related to construction. But one-third of it is covered by glorification of Ahura-Mazda and the king. The Surkh-Kotal inscription has a strictly business – like form. It gives a consecutive summary of events and their motivation. Before us there is a short narration of events, a sample of business prose.

In the southern part of Central Asia several (true, not large) Bactrian inscriptions have been found. Thus in Dushanbe itself a sepulchral inscription has been found with just one word; in Dast-e-Juma a bronze bell has been discovered carrying 17 letters (may be these are just letters written by an illiterate artisan). In Termez, in the monastery of Kara-tepe, several Bactrian inscriptions have been found on skulls including bilingual ones; there are also inscriptions on the walls. In Khwarezm, at Toprak-kala, monuments have been found with Khwarezmian script, work on deciphering them is in progress.

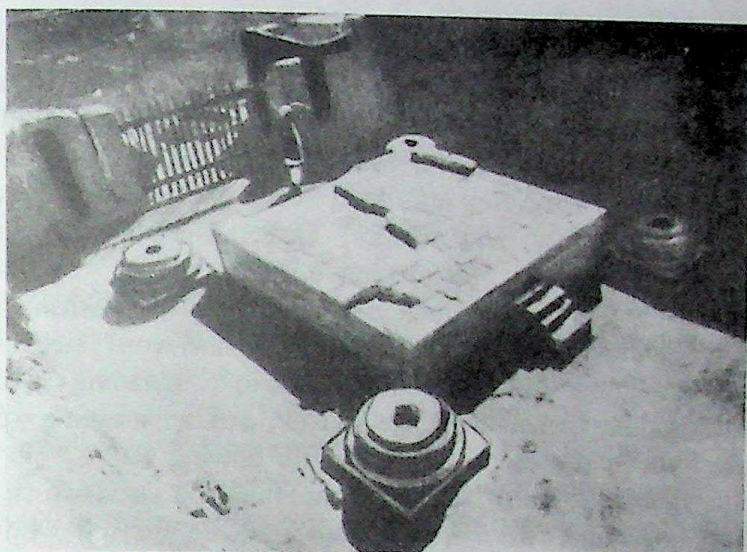
Religious Beliefs

Religious beliefs in the Kushan times were marked by considerable complications. The main part of the Central Asian population as before continued to follow Zoroastrianism. Thus among the Sogdians, as is evident from their personal names (more than 20) found in the “Old Sogdian Letters” the population on the whole followed Zoroastrianism. These names go back to the names of old Iranian gods which entered the Central Asian — Zoroastrian pantheon. At the same time “Sogdian” Zoroastrianism had its own specific character. It deserves to be mentioned that one of the highest places in the Sogdian pantheon is occupied by the goddess Nana [i].¹⁴⁶ The author of letter living in Samarkand bear names in the composition of which the word “Nana[i]” is there. It was the female goddess of Mesopotamian origin where she was already famous in the Sumerian epoch. Thereafter she appeared in Assyria, later in Iran and was in the Roman period popular from Egypt and Greece in the West to Parthia, Kushan and Sogd in the

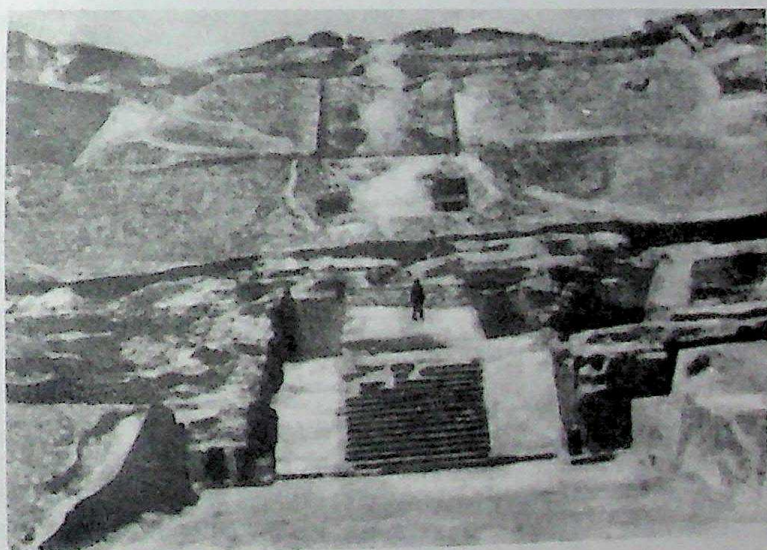
145. For text see: Kent R.G., 1953, pp. 142-144; translation by Abaev V.A., 1945.

146. Henning W.B., 1948, pp. 602-603; Henning W.B., Pt. II, 1965a, pp. 250-252.

East. Perhaps in Central Asia the cult of Nana[i] was intertwined with the cult of Anahita.¹⁴⁷



Sanctuary of the temple in Surkh-kotal



Main Staircase of the Temple in Surkh-kotal

147. Ingholt H., 1954, pp. 12-13; D'iakonova N.V., Smirnova O.I., 1967.

The Sogdians of Eastern Turkestan and Sogd itself had temples — “Vagn”.¹⁴⁸ The priests “vagnpats” played a big role in the life of the Sogdian society.

For Bactrian Zoroastrianism data can also be obtained from the analysis of the depiction of gods on the Kushan coins. Here in a specific Bactrian script the following names are written: Oromozdo — Ahura Mazda, Mihro-Mitra, Mao-Maha (god of moon) Farro-Faria-Veretragy (god of victory), Nana-Nanai (goddess of fertility) and others.¹⁴⁹ One can see local specific Bactrian designation for example, Okhsho or Oakhsho. Undoubtedly this word originated from old Iranian “Vakhshu”. In the Avestian language “Vaksh” means “the said word” (technical term). In the Sogdian language it is linked to the meaning “logos”. In the middle Iranian language it was used as meaning spirit “dukh” which is sometimes linked with flowing water.¹⁵⁰ In the Indian source the word “vakshu” meant the Amu Daria which the Greeks knew under the name of Oksus.¹⁵¹ In the inscription on the hard stone preserved in the Calcutta Museum one can see the religious formula “Vaksh, the only God”.¹⁵²

The image of “Vaksh” as a god remained preserved in Central Asia until the mediaeval period. In the beginning of the 11th century Biruni informed that the Khwarezmians had the festival “vakhshangam” and added: “Vaksh” as the name of the angel who was to look after the waters, in particular, after the river Jaikhun.”¹⁵³ In the mediaeval and our times the old name of the Amu Daria was preserved only for one of the tributaries of the Amu Daria — the Pyanj — *i.e.*, for the river Vaksh. But it testifies to the fact that it was here in the southern Tajikistan that the belief

148. For complete Sogdian terminology connected with this temple see: Widengren G., 1965, p. 326.

149. Stein A., 1887, pp. 155-166, Widengren G., 1965, pp. 333-338.

150. Bailey H.W., 1931a, p. 281. Some linguists think that this word is derived from “obmyvat” (washing), others think that it means “iskryashchisya” (glittering) Harmatta I., 1960, p. 198.

151. Marquart J., 1938.

152. Livshits V.A., 1969, p. 65.

153. Biruni, 1957, p. 258.

in the spirit — the protector of river waters, Oashkho, became deep rooted.

The temple at Surkh-Kotal in Afghanistan, excavated by a French expedition, provides the picture of the temple of the Bactrians. On the high hillock, to which led a three-step main staircase on a pedestal made of bricks and strengthened on the sides by stone tiles with pilasters, the main temple was situated. It was rectangular (35×27 metres) more wide in the façade than in depth, consisting of square shaped central room surrounded by corridor on sides and in the back. From the front side three passages led to the temple — wide one to the central part and narrow on the sides of it — to the corridor. In the middle of the central room the stone platform stood with columns on the corners. Three steps (from the back side) led to the platform. The walls of this room were decorated with pilasters.

The space around the temple was surrounded by the wall of fortified type — from outside it had right-angled towers. Inside



Airtam Fresco

along the walls lay a columned portico and there were niches in the walls where once upon a time stood big bright coloured clay sculptures (most of them have crumbled). Later, between the bases of the pedestal and wall of the yard and also outside close to the wall two small temples were built which also had central square-shaped room and surrounding it corridors (but from four sides). In the central room of one of these temples was situated a pedestal made of raw brick with steps. Its walls were decorated in the corners and in the middle with pilasters. Between them there were

clay reliefs (depictions of birds). On the upper surface of the pedestal there is a heavily burnt depression filled with pure ashes. It is the altar of fire. Strictly speaking, it cannot be the proof of the main temple as also being the temple of fire. An opinion was expressed that it was a dynastic temple. A researcher of this temple D. Schlumberger thinks that the temple could combine two functions of a dynastic temple as well as a temple of fire. He calls the Surkh-Kotal temple as the “royal Kushan temple of fire”.¹⁵⁴

In one of the Surkh-Kotal inscriptions there is a word “Bagolaggo” — “sanctuary”, — perhaps it was the name of the temple; the adjoining district and the settlement (Baglan) was named after it.¹⁵⁵



Harp-player in Airtam Fresco

154. Schlumberger D., 1961, pp. 77-88.

155. Henning W.B., 1956, pp. 366-367.



Heads of Terracotta Figures of the Kushan Period



Silver Medal Depicting Goddess of Hunting

Along with Zoroastrianism other religions were also developing. As is known, in Kushan Central Asia Buddhism was prevalent. It is quite possible that the information about Buddhism penetrated into Central Asia several centuries before, during Achaemenid period but concrete information about it spread in Central Asia in the relatively later period. Buddhism came to Central Asia through Afghanistan. According to all available sources its dissemination was going on in several ways (at least two): westward — towards Merv (to the eastern regions of Parthia) and eastward — towards Termez (in Bactria).

The Ceylonese chronicle informs about the arrival in Ceylon, in the first quarter of the first Century B.C., of one sage named Mahadeva for the Buddhist festival. This sage came most likely not from Parthia itself but from some neighbouring dominion. Shortly afterwards Buddhism spread to Merv. There is also information that in 148 one An Shi-gao came to Loyan and started translating Buddhist text into the Chinese language. According to his name he came from the country called An-Parthia. It is to him and his disciples that China owes its information about Buddhism. Moreover, An Shi-gao was an eminent scholar and through him the Chinese received information about the scientific ideas of the peoples of Central Asia.¹⁵⁶

For Bactria we have considerable information. The name of eminent Buddhist preacher Ghoshak, a native of Tokharistan, is well-known. Buddhist theologian Dharmamitra belonged to Termez. Buddhist preachers reached the region of Chach where Buddhist constructions were coming up.

In Central Asia the Buddhist school Vaibhashika, in the teachings of which there were many materialist elements, was well-known; in their theory of knowledge there were many features of dialectics. As F. Engels pointed out: "...dialectical thinking — because it has as its pre-requisite the research of the nature of comprehension itself, — is possible only for the human and for the latter only in a relatively high stage of development

156. Litvinskii B.A., 1967v; Litvinskii B.A., 1968.

(Buddhist and Greek), and it reaches its full development only much later in the current philosophy...".¹⁵⁷

A whole series of Buddhist constructions is now well known. Thus in Airtam, not far away from Termez, the Buddhist monastery complex of the first-second centuries A.D. which was partly excavated. Its nucleus was the sanctuary. It consisted of a square-shaped room in the centre of which stood a rectangular platform for placing relics, and an entrance hall, the walls of which were decorated with beautiful stone frescos. The monastery included some residential and service rooms.¹⁵⁸ In Termez itself, on the hill of Kara-tepe, is being excavated the Buddhist cave monastery (in India such monasteries are found in a large number). Here some complexes are being excavated; each of which consists of cave sanctuary surrounded by four round-about vaulted corridors and of a yard with ground worship constructions. The traces of murals, fragments of stone and alabaster statues are also found.¹⁵⁹ Not far away from Kara-tepe archaeologist L.I. Albaum is excavating the other Buddhist complex with splendid paintings and sculptures — Fayaz-tepe. It consists of open rectangular type corridors, cells, sanctuaries and stupa. In Termez itself there is a Buddhist stupa — it is now-a-days called the "Tower of Zurmal". Near Dalverzin-tepe (Surhan Daria province) a Buddhist complex of the Kushan period has been discovered. Of particular interest is a sculpture discovered here depicting the worship of the Buddhist and secular characters.

Christianity entered Central Asia in the II-III centuries B.C. Biruni provides the information that one priest brought Christianity to Merv about two hundred years after the death of the founder of that religion.¹⁶⁰ This information would have looked like a legend if we had not possessed information provided by the Syrian (beginning of III century A.D.) and the Armenian (IV century A.D.) sources about the spread of Christianity in the "Kushan Country".

157. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.* T. 20, pp. 537-538.

158. Viazmitina M.I., 1945.

159. Grek, T.E. and others, 1967; Staviskii B.Ya., 1967a, 1969.

160. Biruni, 1957, p. 130.



Sculpture from Khalchayan

In Central Asia the adherents of one more religion — Manichean — appeared which played an important part in the history of Central Asian ideological life. Let us dwell on it in some details. The founder of this religion Mani was born in 216 in a noble family of Babylonia near Ktesifon. The Sasanid king allowed the preaching of the new religion but ultimately Mani was imprisoned and died there (in 276-277) and Manichean teachings and Manichean themselves were subjected to severe repressions.

According to the Manichean doctrine, in the beginning when there was no earth and sky yet there existed two principles: light (the good) and darkness (the evil). In real life the elements of both are mixed up and the human beings should help to achieve perfection, assisting the origin of light in the struggle against the evil. The teaching of Mani included and united in itself many important elements of Zoroastrianism from one side and early Christian agnosticism on the other, and also to some extent of Buddhism. It was not monolithic: in some schools of Manicheanism the current of social protest was clearly visible — the Manichean slogan is well-known — “one who is wealthy, will be poor and beg, and will suffer eternally”. This slogan and also the preaching of highly moral ideal of the promise to lead to the

“heaven of light” attracted the toiling masses and the middle strata of society to Manicheanism. Manicheanism established a powerful organization which could not but scare the Sasanid court and the Zoroastrian priesthood to Manicheanism.

Already during Mani's life and directly after his death Manicheanism travelled far away from the borders of Iran. The preaching of Manicheanism in Central Asia was done inspite of the above-mentioned slogan in the first place among the nobility, but gradually embraced wide circle of the population. One of the most outstanding preachers of Manicheanism in Central Asia was Mar Ammo. Later Manicheanism penetrated into Eastern Turkestan and subsequently into China. In Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan Manicheanism absorbed in itself many features of Buddhism, having adopted some of its ideas and partly terminology. In their religious propaganda the Manicheans used art, particularly the art of painting — their religious books were splendidly illustrated. That is why in the Tajik-Persian literature and the old dictionaries the name of Mani was a synonym of the great painter.¹⁶¹

During the Kushan period different peoples had different burial rites.

Of great interest are the burial grounds related to the Kushan period (the so-called type IIIB), in the Hissar sepulchre Topkhana discovered by M.M. Diakonov. These are sub-soil graves laid out and covered by raw bricks, sometimes raw vaults. Over the heads there are vessels with food. All the vessels are beautifully made on the potter's wheel. These vessels are in the form of goblets with strict proportion. Their characteristic feature is the complete absence of weapons in the graves. Sometimes in the mouth or on the chest of the corpse coins were put which were similar in mint with the coins of King Evkratid (the imitation of his coins) — of the time after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

161. About Manicheanism in Central Asia see: Belenitskii A.M., 1954; Assmussen J.P., 1965, Litvinskii B.A., 1968, pp. 14-17, 37-41. For the general characteristics of Manicheanism see: Lukonin V.G., 1969b, pp. 74-81.



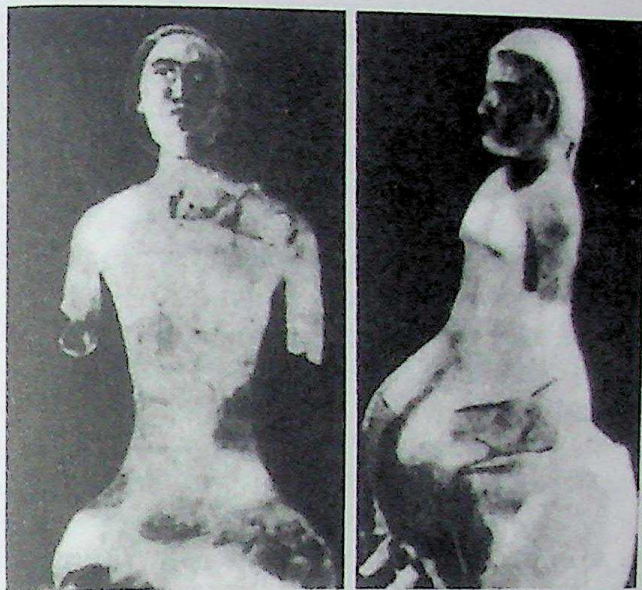
Harp Player on a Wall Painting in the Palace of Toprak-kala

In women's graves, jewellery made of gold (ear rings), iron (rings and buckles), stone and glass (beads), bronze (mirrors, bracelets, rings) are found. This jewellery contains many similarities with Sarmat culture of the region near the Caspian and the Black Sea. It is interesting that among the discoveries there is an amber which was found only, in the Baltic Sea, shell *kauri* from the Indian Ocean.

Outside the graves a lot of coins were found among them one is of king Kanishka, and also those grain-pounders, fragment of hand millstone, and the store of iron knives were found.¹⁶²

During the excavations, by M.M. Diakonov and subsequently by B.A. Litvinskii, other burial grounds were also

162. D'iaikonov M.M., 1950



**Statues of Ossuari in the Form of Sitting Human Figures
1st Century A.D., Koi-Krylgan-Kala**

found in big clay coffins of baked clay (this kind of burial was widely spread among the Parthians and apparently was borrowed from them). On the territory of Dushanbe the burial ground of stone tombs have been found. On the site of Kuhna-kala (Vaksh valley) the dead were buried in room-cells. Since the second century B.C. (or even earlier) in Khwarezm and later in other regions of Central Asia *ossuaries* start spreading — ceramic (rarely stone) bone stores where the bones of the dead were placed.¹⁶³ The nomadic, semi-nomadic and a part of settled population buried their dead in *kurgans* (mounds). A large number of burial mounds have been excavated in the lower parts of Kafir-Nigan and in the Isfara region as well as on the territory of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzia.

Art

The Kushan period is the period of apogee of the ancient art of Central Asia. We know about the development of art of

163. Rapoport U.A., 1967.

monumental forms (paintings, sculptures, reliefs), the small plastic art (terracota), applied arts (jewellery production), etc. Even now we have a vast material but the collection of it, in connection with archaeological works, goes on at such an intensified pace that any characterization can become outdated even before it is, brought to light. It is in the sphere of art that the genius of Central Asian masters manifested itself vividly; at the same time the links with the neighbouring countries are traced distinctly.

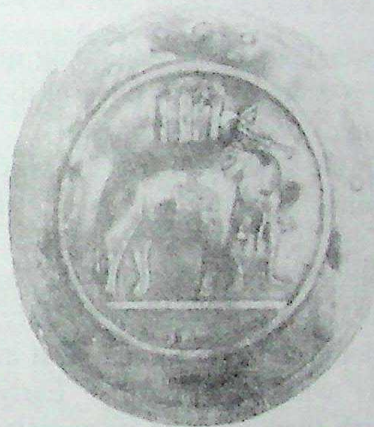
The importance of the monuments of Central Asian art goes far beyond its frontiers because it allows to examine and explain the most important phenomena of the art culture in a new light. Such is a case, for example, of the Gandhara art. Gandhara is the ancient name of the country, the nucleus of which was the Peshawar valley and it included the neighbouring regions also. It is here that many original art monuments have been discovered; predominantly stone (and alabaster) sculptures and reliefs. According to the ancient name of the country they were named Gandhara, although the production in this style were more widely spread. These could be seen on the territories of the entire north-west India, Afghanistan and in southern Central Asia. The Gandhara art in itself represents an astonishingly bright fusion of the local and the Hellenistic — Roman traditions. But the problem of the genesis of the Gandhara art, its evolution and chronology till now is the cause of the most different and sometimes diametrically opposite opinions, numerous theories and hypotheses. One scholar wittily compared the historical research of the Gandhara art with a "battlefield on which so many points of view of archaeologists were defeated, a battlefield — the soil of which is littered with shattered armours-outdated theories, fragments of weapons and rejected hypotheses. At the same time the problems awaiting their solution are numerous and literally hinder the efforts of scholars to solve the problems which appear as insoluble."¹⁶⁴

The basis for the study of the Gandhara art was laid in the works of A. Foucher, a French scholar, who contributed a great deal to the research of art and archaeology of India and

164. Cited by Ingholt H., 1957, p. 22.

Afghanistan. Referring to his works¹⁶⁵ as well as to the works of D. Marshall, R. Rowland, A.K. Kumaraswami, I. Lokhvizende leev, G. Ingholt and others the author would like to note that French scholar D. Schlumberger came out with a highly interesting hypothesis. Guided by the results of the newest archaeological discoveries in the non-Soviet parts of Asia he insisted upon the role of the 'Graeco-Iranian' elements (in particular Graeco-Bactrian) in the formation of the Gandhara art.¹⁶⁶ The discoveries in Central Asia have provided excellent material for discussion about the Bactrian art itself. The magnificent sculptures and paintings of Khalchayan, the beautiful bark-plastic art of Bactria cannot be ignored in the study of the genesis of the Gandhara art.

Along with the art of Bactria, in the Sogd, Khwarezm and Parthia their own art schools appeared.



Bactrian Silver Elephant



**Silver Bowl of Kushan Period with
Mythological Subject**

165. See in particular: Foucher A., 1905; 1918; 1922; 1951.

166. Schlumberger D., 1960.

Chapter 7

Socio-Economic System of Ancient Central Asia

1. Historiography of the Problem of Slave-owning Socio-Economic Structure of Ancient Central Asia

Soviet historians at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties started discussing the socio-economic structures in the East from the deeply scientific position of Marxism-Leninism.

A great role in the working out of the Marxist socio-economic history was played by the extraordinarily intellectual work of Lenin published in 1929 — “About the State”. It was stated in it: “The development of all human societies during the millennia in all countries without exception shows us the common regularity, correctness, consistency of this development in such a way that in the beginning we have the society without classes — Early Patriarchal, Primitive Society in which there were no aristocrats; afterwards — the Society based on Slavery, the Slave-owning Society. The whole modern civilization of Europe has gone through it — the Slave-owning system was fully predominant two thousand years ago. The large number of peoples of the rest of the world have gone through it.”¹

The Marxist study of the problem of history of socio-economic structures in the East had just started in the 20s and 30s. The difficulty, in particular, lay in the fact that majority of the Orientalists — the old generation — better equipped with the

1. V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. 39, p. 70 (in Russian).

knowledge of concrete facts — were not quite prepared in the sphere of Marxist ideology. In these circumstances the address of academician S.F. Oldenburg, one of the leading representatives of the “old generation”, in the extraordinary session of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1931, was very timely. He declared: “For us there is no division of the peoples and countries by the East and the West opposed to each other and to be studied differently: the East has entered our union with equal rights with the West and we study it with same Marxist methodology with which we study the west. The class struggle was and is going on in the East in the same way as in the West. The history of the East provided the same structures as the history of the West. These are the main principles of our science of Oriental studies.”² In this way the general line of the development of the Soviet oriental studies which had as its firm base, the theory of Marxism-Leninism was formulated. Thus the Marxist view on the history of the peoples of the East appeared as a direct contrast to that reactionary direction of the bourgeois science the leitmotif of which was the words of the bard of British imperialism, Kipling: “O, The East is East and the West is West and the twain shall never meet till the earth and sky do not come to the great court of law.”

Proceeding from the Marxist interpretation of the sources of history of the ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, studied by him very meticulously, V.V. Struve in the beginning of the thirties came to the conclusion that the ancient Eastern states were the slave-owning societies of the primitive type.³ In 1933 he formulated his own concept of the history of material culture in his special report at the State Academy which was published shortly afterwards.⁴ The boldness of this address, the novelty of the concrete formulation of the question about the existence of the slave-owning socio-economic structure in the East and at the same time the over-estimation of the role of the slaves and under-estimation of the role of the members of the commune led to the disagreement of some eminent scholars with the interpretation of this problem

2. Oldenburg S.F., 1931, p. 9

3. V.V. Struve, 1932.

4. V.V. Struve, 1934b; 1934a.

by V.V. Struve. Other scholars accepted and started developing the thesis about the existence of the slave-owning structure in the East.⁵

Shortly in the same year (1933) S.P. Tolstov addressed the plenum of the Academy of Material Culture devoted to the problem of the genesis and development of feudalism with the report "The Genesis of Feudalism in the Nomadic, Cattle-breeding Societies".⁶ He substantiated some important propositions which afterwards got firmly included in the arsenal of Soviet historical science, for example, about the closest links of nomads and settled agriculturists etc. Along with this he came out with the hypothesis that the nomads of Central Asia, (beginning with the Huns) from II century B.C. upto VIII-IX centuries, went through the slave-owning stage of development, "The Slave-owning stage of development of societies with predominance of nomadic cattle-breeding, corresponding to the ancient structure of the Mediterranean, developed in its peculiarly original form of military slave-owning democracy."⁷ No detailed grounds and concrete analysis were given. Argument of S.P. Tolstov was weakened by the fact that some of its starting points were mistaken (for example, the statement that the Turkmens in 19th century preserved the slave-owning system, etc.). However, on the whole the idea presented by S.P. Tolstov concretising the Marxist theory of socio-economic structures, as applied to the East, was exceptionally productive. Logically it was evident that not only the nomadic people of Central Asia but closely linked with them settled societies went through the slave-owning stage of development.

The new formulation of the problem was met with objections of some scholars. For example A.N. Bernshtam, in the plenum of 1933, defended the opinion about the transition of the "most part of Asia (where he included Central Asia also) from the primitive communism to the feudal society, bypassing the slave-owning

5. For details about the discussions of the early 30s see: Postovskaya N.M., 1961, pp. 79-82, 98-100.

6. Tolstov S.P., 1934.

7. Tolstov S.P., 1934, pp. 179-185.

structure.”⁸ Two years later in 1935 M.E. Masson stated that in the epoch after VIII century A.D. in Central Asia started the process of “disintegration of the old feudal relations.”⁹

However, gradually the notion that the peoples of Central Asia went through the epoch of the slave-owning system appeared on the pages of popular scientific¹⁰ and special editions.¹¹

In 1938 S.P. Tolstov for the first time gave a detailed formulation of the thesis about the slave-owning system of ancient Central Asia. The main theses were as follows:

The Sogdian aristocracy of the period preceding the Arab conquest combined in itself the features of “slave-owning and tribal-clan leaders”.

Its power was based on “the troops of armed slaves — *chakirs*...and privileged cavalry militia of aristocratic young men” about whom the Arab, Persian and Chinese sources give information. This type of organization of militia is characteristic for the Parthian period, also.

The ancient civilization of the Central Asia oases had a specific “urban” appearance.

The nomads and agriculturists were closely linked with each other.

Slave-owning was widely prevalent among the settled and nomadic population. This is directly reflected in the data provided by the Chinese sources and “The Old Sogdian Letters”. The fact of inclusion of Central Asia in the Achaemenid State and the indirect information about slavery contained in the Sasanid code of law testify to this fact. The mass burial ground in rows of those *usun* mounds, sepulchres where there is no chain of mounds are probably the burials of slaves owned by *usuns* (in the other version — “the graves of both of slaves and *usun* aristocracy”).

“The archaeological sources make us assume that in the creation of the irrigational network in Central Asia considerable

8. Bernshtam A.M., 1934, p. 434.

9. Masson M.E., 1935, p. 217, further (p. 227) he wrote about the “disintegration of the feudal system” of Central Asia in the Xth century.

10. See, for example, Badjenov L.V., 1937.

11. Masson M.E., 1938, p. 83.

slave labour was used...the implementation of the construction of this network by peasants using available technical means at the disposal of ancient Sogdians and Khwarezmians must have drawn away from agriculture such an amount of labour force which could have affected the normal functioning of agriculture...paraphrasing the famous words of Engels we can say that if there were no slavery the rich irrigational culture of the East could not have appeared”.

Although the “remnants of the primitive social structure continued to exist during centuries after Central Asia entered into the limelight of written monuments, starting with the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. we can feel the first signs, of big progress in the social structure of the peoples of Central Asia gradually entering the slave-owning system of the East of classes.”

“The common crisis of the slave-owning world which toppled the Roman Empire and destroyed the state of ancient China did not by-pass Central Asia. In the fifth century the Kushan kingdom fell under the blows of the barbarian tribes appearing under the same name of Huns as in the 4th century China and 4th and 5th centuries Europe.”¹²

These theories of S.P. Tolstov, (with the exception of the first two coming out of incorrect assumptions that the epoch of slave-owning structure in Central Asia supposedly continued until 7th-8th centuries) were basically¹³ accepted by an absolute majority of Soviet scholars and played an important role in the Marxist elaboration of the ancient history of Central Asia.¹⁴ They tried to substantiate the idea of predominance in this region of the slave-owning system largely by drawing attention to new observations on the history of the irrigation network in Khwarezm. The use of slave labour in agriculture, particularly in the irrigation work cannot be ruled out. However S.P. Tolstov's statement that the free population did not take part in irrigational construction and that ancient canals were dug by a “large number of slaves not engaged

12. Tolstov S.P., 1938b, pp. 24-32, 47-49; 1938a, pp. 182-187.

13. Some private notions for example about the burials in a row, as in the graves of the slaves of *usuns*, were also not confirmed further.

14. See particularly: Tolstov S.P., 1948a; 1948b and others.

in other types of agricultural works"¹⁵ in our opinion cannot be viewed as indisputable.¹⁶ In the calculation of S.P. Tolstov on the construction of 25 kilometre long Janbaskalin canal the main population of the canal zone should have taken 15-25 years, working 20 days a year. This according to S.P. Tolstov is incredible and thus it is evident that these canals were built by a large number of slaves. These arguments are based on two presumptions: the big canals were built quickly; the agricultural population of the oasis could take part in the irrigation works on an average during 20 days a year.

However, big canals could be built also during some years (in some cases decades) and the entire irrigation network should have been built during the centuries. On the other side the peculiarities of the Central Asian (including Khwarezmian) agricultural year allow to take away the agricultural population for the construction and cleaning of the irrigational works at least for two and even three months a year.¹⁷ Thus the same Janbaskalin canal (if one goes by the numbers given by S.P. Tolstov and B.V. Andrianov who calculated the number of adult male workers approximately as one thousand) could have been built by the population of the canal zone in four or five years.¹⁸

Lastly, the primitive character of the agricultural technique made it less effective and unprofitable to take "a large number" of workers away from agricultural work for specialisation of their labour only in the sphere of irrigational constructions. Providing

15. Tolstov S.P., 1958, p. 115. About doubts about the correctness of this assumption see: Belenitskii A.M., 1955, p. 507.

16. ITNI, pp. 475-476.

17. At the end of the 19th century there were cases when the people worked on cleaning of canals around two months a year (Shkapskii O., 1909, pp. 49-50; Dingelshtedt M., 1895, p. 65).

18. In fact evaluating the scale of land work needed for construction of the canal of 750 thousand cubic metres (Andrianov B.V., 1969, p. 128) and the size of the soil dug by one person, 2.5 cubic metres, it is easy to calculate that this scale of land work could be completed in five years. However, if productivity of labour was higher and was approaching the figure of 3.5 cubic metres as given in the papyrus documents for Hellenistic Egypt (Kruger E.V., 1935, p. 28) the same number of workers could have constructed such a canal in three years.

them even the minimal means of existence would have been a heavy burden on the agricultural population. Given the level of the agricultural technique, existing in Khwarezm at the end of the 19th century, one worker could cultivate during the year (with availability of corresponding work animals) a very small area of land.¹⁹ In ancient times the level of agricultural technique was even lower. Thus the possibility and the necessity of increasing the sown areas was strictly limited by the number of people directly taking part in field works.²⁰

It is known that in XIX-beginning of XX centuries the yield of the wheat crop on irrigated land was approximately 15-20 centners for one hectare.²¹ It was necessary to leave 1.5 to 2 centners for seed purposes. A part of the crop (in no case less than 1/3, if one goes by the norms in the mediaeval times) had to be given by the peasant in the form of tax or tribute.²² At his disposal there remained only 8-11 centners. For the ancient times these figures should be much lower. Correcting (of course, in speculation) these figures by 50 per cent we get the figure 4-5.5 centners; this is just sufficient for feeding two, maximum 3 persons for a year. Taking into account the fact that in the field work the other members of the family were also helping the main worker, the ancient Khwarezmian agricultural family could hardly feed itself and pay taxes.

Proceeding from this it will be more proper to presume that in the irrigational construction and also in the seasonal cleaning of canal, as a rule (there are exception also) the entire population of the oases took part including of course the slaves as well. B.A. Litvinskii is correct when he wrote: "In the construction of new canals the state power was interested which took corresponding

19. Shkapskii O., 1900, p. 191.

20. According to the calculations of S.P. Tolstov in the zone of Janbaskalin canal there lived not more than four-five thousand people, among them 1.5 thousand adult males (the number may be exaggerated to some extent — Andreanov B.V., 1969, p. 127). Even if we assume that all of them took part in agricultural production, they could relatively cultivate a small area.

21. Masalskii V.I. 1913, p. 442.

22. Brodovskii M., 1872, p. 240; Davidovich E.A., 1970, pp. 124-125.

taxes for the use of water and of the irrigational land. That is why the agricultural population was forced to dig canals. These works perhaps were implemented under the guidance and control of the representatives of the state power.”²³

The same scholar pointed to Assyria, as an analogy, where the notion about the construction of canal as a common public task existed. There even the King himself (of course symbolically) took part in it as the representative of the commune.²⁴ The remnants of this ancient tradition were preserved in the Khanate of Khiva until the 19th Century. Before the annual cleaning of the canals and after a big ceremony the Khan himself descended on the canal and pretended as if he was about to start working.²⁵

The social importance, so to say, of the “rank” of the builders of the canal in the ancient East was so high that in the Sumer mythology even the gods themselves took part in the irrigational works — dug the land with spades, took out the soil in baskets.²⁶

In the Egypt of Ptolemy the work of digging canals and construction of dams was done with the help of the indigenous population which was forced to work by the state. Generally, it was considered that, in these works the whole population must take part but the representatives of the strata kept away by paying the corresponding tax. The people at work were supplied spades and baskets by the state; the implements were to be returned after the work was over.²⁷

In the East the elementary economic expediency demanded the participation of the whole rural population in the digging of canals. Such vast scale works could not be carried out without the directing and regulating activity of the state power, as Karl Marx wrote in his work “The British Rule in India”: “The climatic conditions and peculiarity of the surface...have made the system of artificial irrigation with the help of canals and irrigational

23. ITN, I, p. 476.

24. Diakanov I.M., 1949, p. 27.

25. Gulyamov Ya.G., 1957, p. 262.

26. “The Emergence and Development of Agriculture”, Moscow, 1967, pp. 37-38.

27. Kruger E.V., 1935, pp. 27-30; Zelyin K.K., Trofimova M.K., 1969, pp. 74-75.

constructions the basis of Eastern agriculture...from this comes out the economic function which all the Asian governments were forced to perform, that is the function of organizing the public works. Such a system of artificially increasing the fertility of land depending on the central government and immediately falling into decay if the government was irresponsible towards the irrigational and drainage works, explains the otherwise inexplicable fact that we see now-a-days entire vast deserted and barren territories which were once upon a time fully cultivated..."²⁸

Specifying and deepening the proposition of the development, in the history of Central Asia of the slave-owning system in the 40s-60s, Soviet scholars elaborated in detail the questions of political history, development of productive forces, money circulation, culture and other aspects of this system. Besides, attempts were made to determine the specific character of the Central Asian slave-owning system and identify the stages of its development.²⁹ Thus in the Soviet science the viewpoint that in the ancient Central Asia the slave-owning system was dominant is affirmed.³⁰

A study of the collected materials leads to the conclusion that the Central Asian slave-owning system differed in its major peculiarities. In the first edition of the "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow 1949) the principal peculiarities of the social system of ancient Central Asia were underscored. These views were developed and specified in the subsequent editions of the book.

In the first volume of the collectively authored "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow, 1963) B.A. Litvinskii analysed the materials which were available in the beginning of the 60s about ancient Central Asia and compared them with the data on socio-economic history of the adjacent countries of the East. Thus a

28. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 9, p. 132 (in Russian).

29. About this see: Bernshtam A.N., 1949; Tolstov S.P., 1938b, pp. 417-419.

30. Several Soviet scholars who take another stand on this question (I.I. Umnyakov, A.M. Belenitskii) are compelled to making observations of a negative character and cannot offer any credible alternative concept about the existence of slave-owning system in the ancient Central Asia.

more complete and systematic research was a definite step forward in elaboration of the problem.

It is necessary to dwell at greater length on the "Asiatic mode of production".

At the end of the 20s — beginning of the 30s in the Soviet historical science — a big discussion about the "Asiatic mode of production" was going on. It again resurfaced in the middle of the 60s, the second discussion was started by the research papers of foreign Marxist scholars.³¹ The numerous articles on this theme were published in scientific journals. Collections of articles and separate research papers were brought out.³²

The term "Asiatic Mode of Production" can be seen in the works of the founders of Marxism. However, by the 80s of the 19th century when K. Marx and F. Engels closely started studying the questions of the ancient history their views were changed. In the work of F. Engels: "The Origin of Family, Private Property and State" (1884) the place of "Asiatic mode of production" is occupied by the primitive system followed by slave-owning system. In 1887 F. Engels wrote: "In the Asiatic and classical antiquity the prevalent form of class oppression was slavery, *i.e.*, not so much the expropriation of land from the masses as the appropriation of their personality...in the mediaeval times not the freedom of the people from land but on the contrary their attachment to the land was the source of feudal exploitation."³³ V.I. Lenin in his special work "About the State"³⁴ devoted to the socio-economic structures gives a detailed characterisation of each of the structures and a picture of their successive change; but he does not name the "Asiatic mode of production" mentioning it only while quoting the corresponding works of K. Marx. We share the point of view of those Soviet scholars who assume that K. Marx and F.

31. Some of their works are published in our press (*"Narody Azii i Afriki"* 1965, No. 1).

32. "The Common and the Specific in the History of the Development of the Countries of the East. The materials of the discussion about the social structures in the East. (The Asiatic Mode of Production)", Moscow, 1966; Kachanovskii U.V., 1971; "Problemy", 1971.

33. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works* T. 21, pp. 348-349 (in Russian).

34. V.I. Lenin, *Pol. Soch.* Sob-IT 39.

Engels, with the passage of time, rejected the idea about any special "Asiatic mode of production." The attempt to attach the name V.I. Lenin to the list of supporters of the "Asiatic mode of production" is a case of clearly strained interpretation. At the same time, in the process of the last discussion, the need for more all-sided and wide determination of the content of the slave-owning structure was revealed. The concept of the slave-owning structure of the society, where the prevalent (even the main) part of the direct producers had to be slaves, is completely incorrect and dogmatic. In fact history does not know of such societies and in many cases the slaves consisted of the lesser part of the toiling population. The condition of the slaves itself also could be very different. Lastly, the society which we call slave-owning was in fact a multi-structural one.³⁵

While examining the social system of ancient Central Asia all this has to be borne in mind.

2. Contemporary View About the Socio-Economic System of Ancient Central Asia

Social and Property Differentiation

At the end of III and beginning of II millennium B.C. in South Turkmenia distinct differentiation can be clearly traced. In Iranian monument Tepe Gissar very rich, burial grounds for the chiefs are found. In South Turkmenia there are no such rich burial grounds, but along with the usual graves there are some which are markedly different. There, for example, is a grave a priest woman with golden ear rings and beautiful beads (Altyn-tepe). Development of property and social differentiation is testified by the dispersion of seals. The excavation of treasures speak of the process of amassing of riches in the hands of the representatives of separate families.³⁶ The raising of buildings of the type of palace and temple is the visual proof of society already divided into classes. The process of property and social differentiation in south Central Asia, to be

35. Diakonov I.M., 1966, pp. 47-52.

36. Masson V.M., 1967b, p. 187.

precise in south Turkmenia, had started before the first signs of this phenomenon began to appear on other territories. The reasons for such outstripping development in south Turkmenia are manifold. It may be specially mentioned that in south Turkmenia existed a more optimal (in Central Asia) set of conditions for the development of primitive irrigated agriculture. On the other side it was Turkmenia which was in a more favourable condition in relation to the links and contacts with urban civilizations of the East.

The process of development of class society in south Turkmenia was in the beginning going on ascendingly and later in the middle and the second half of the II millenium B.C. it was fading out. Here arises, though involuntarily, the association with northern India. About the character of social changes in that period in south Turkmenistan society one can only guess. Undoubtedly at this time there already existed considerable social and property differentiation. It is also characteristic that the existence of fortified settlements with citadels are known until the end of II and the beginning of I millennium B.C. not only in Turkmenia but in Bactria as well. To them the following words of F. Engels fully apply: "It is not for nothing that forbidding walls around new fortified cities are standing: in their moats the grave of the clan society can be seen and their towers are already touching civilization."³⁷

In the first half of the I millennium B.C. the processes of property and social differentiation and class formation were going on with a new force.

The principally new fact is that these processes had now started enveloping the main territories of Central Asia. Their reflection can be seen in *Avesta*; even in the oldest parts of it. In the comprehension of the authors of *Avesta* the wealth is first of all, cattle. The powerful hero Iima possesses "good herds" of cattle; houses "rich in cattle wealth" are also mentioned. To Zarvatushtra himself one person had promised a gift of ten mares

37. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 21, p. 164 (in Russian).

with colts and one camel. As Livshits rightly observes such a gift "could hardly be given by a common member of the commune."³⁸

About the social system of Central Asia, in the middle and second half of the I millennium B.C., the data is extremely scarce. In our possession there are only some hints about social stratification. Thus among the Bactrians and Sogdians there are "the most noble (nobilissimi) distinguished by their "nobility" (Kwint Kurtsii, VII, 10, 4; Arrian VII, 6, 3). Central Asia was also familiar with slavery. In the sources available there is information about "turning into slavery of the inhabitants of the western regions of the Achaemenid kingdom and their settlements in Central Asia. Thus in Bactria the inhabitants of the Greek city Barka (north Africa) (Herodotus, IV, 204) were settled. The rebel Grecko-Ionians — were threatened by Persians of slavery and exile of their daughters to Bactria (Herodotus VI, 9). Perhaps Bactria was a common place for settlement of slaves in the western regions of the Achaemenid kingdom. But these were royal slaves. About the private slaves of this epoch we have little data. Thus only one information is known and that too is not very trustworthy about the slaves (servus) of the Sogdian Spitamen (Kwint Kurtsii VIII, 3, 9). Along with this in the sources available there is a mention about traces of the clan-tribal society in social organization of the Central Asian population of the times. Perhaps the population of one city in the north Sogdiana was named as the tribe or clan (gens) of Memakens (Kwint Kurtsii, VII, 6, 17).

The Sogdian and Bactrian nobility, in the epoch of Alexander of Macedonia, possessed great riches. About this indirectly testifies the episode with Horien who could provide the Macedonian army with food for two months (Arrian, IV, 21, 10). The noble Parthian, from the clan of Suren, who defeated Krass according to Plutarch, ("The Life of Krass", 21), "was not an ordinary man: by his wealth, nobility of the clan and fame he stood at second place after the king...he started his campaign bringing with him eatables on one thousand camels and two hundred carriages with concubines; one thousand cuirassiers and a larger number of lightly armed men

38. ITNI, pp. 145-146.

accompanied him; and all in all, the horsemen and cavalrymen and slaves were not less than ten thousand". In Davan a foreign observer noted the existence of "wealthy house-owners and chiefs"; the wealthy people had big stores of wine. Among the nomads the rich possessed 4-5 thousand horses.

Structure of Central Asian Society at the End of I Millennium B.C.

Early I Millennium B.C.

On the Graeco-Bactrian and later coins and also on the coins of the Kushan mint there are Greek or East-Iranian designations of the head of the state—"ruler", "king", "king of the kings". On one of the seal-gem, originating from India, an inscription in the Kushan script is engraved — with the name, title "vazork-fromalar".³⁹ In Sasanid Iran there was "vazurg framadar" — the head of the whole administration, so to say, the Prime Minister. This post was occupied by persons from the royal clan or by the representatives of the most noble families.⁴⁰ But it should be kept in mind that in Central Asia the meaning of this title could have been different: in early mediaeval Sogdian texts from Central Asia framadar (literally "keeping the order") was "manager of the royal household."⁴¹ But in the Kushan period it was used for perhaps high (or one of the highest) state official.

In the state Hermitage⁴² and the British Museum⁴³ there are seals with the title of the owner — "Khazarukht" which corresponds to the Sasanid Khazarpāt.⁴⁴ The chronological order of these seals is not clear; perhaps they relate to the post-Kushan period. It cannot be said with certainty about the place of their production. But they can be used as an additional proof of existence in Bactria of third-fifth centuries A.D. of a developed state apparatus.

39. Bivar A.D.H., 1961, pp. 320-322.

40. D'iakonov M.M., 1961, p. 299.

41. Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp. 134-135.

42. Stavsky B.J., 1960, p. 107.

43. Bivar A.D.H., 1965, pp. 209-210.

44. Henning W.B., 1965b, p. 81.

In Surkh-Kotal inscriptions the title of "Nokonzok is designated as "Karalrag". As W.B. Henning has shown it is identical to the Sasanid title "Kanarang" ("guarding the frontier or strengthening the frontier"), which was carried by the ruler of Eastern (bordering with Central Asia) part of the Sasanid state; his duties were more military than civil. This title became wide-spread in Central Asia — it was carried in the early mediaeval times by the representatives of the Samarkand ruling house.⁴⁵

On the seal preserved in the State Hermitage W.B. Henning read the word "asbarobid". The first part of the word corresponds to the middle-Persian "asbar" — "horse-rider", "knight" (in the Tajik language this word is known in the form of "sovor"), and the second part goes back to the ancient Iranian "pati" — "master", "lord"). Thus this word, rather a title than a name, means the "chief of the cavalry".⁴⁶

On one of the Kushan gems the name of its owner "Harbalan" — "seated on an ass" — is designated. The same name as Livshits noted can be seen on two Indian inscriptions in Brahmi from Sarnath, (near Banaras), one of them is dated from the third year of Kanishka's rule. This inscription informs about the lay out of the Buddhist building and among the donors two "satraps" are named: Vanaspara and Kharapallano. The latter name is the Indian version of the same name which is engraved on the *gem*, Vanaspara comes from the Bactrian Wanaspar — "appealing for victory". In the second of the above-mentioned inscriptions Kharapallano is named as a "great satrap".⁴⁷

The regional and local administrative apparatus, as it is known from Parthia, was a highly ramified system and was aimed at suppression of the direct producers.

Thus there were two poles. On one side there was the nobility in whose hands was concentrated great power and huge wealth. On

45. Ibid, pp. 77-78.

46. Henning W.B., 1962.

47. Livshits B.A., 1967, pp. 168-170. About the administrative structure of the Kushan state interesting data has been collected by Indian scholar B.N. Puri (Puri B.N., 1965, pp. 80-87; here there are observations about the existence of the royal council).

the other side stood those who produced it (wealth) with their labour. About the composition of the toiling population of Central Asia, very little is known. Who erected the palaces and strengthened the fortifications, who worked in the cities in their handicraft workshops, of whom the agricultural population consisted — the preserved sources say almost nothing. Undoubtedly in Central Asia there were slaves⁴⁸ and dependent people also.

The linguists have proved that the term for the designation of patriarchal slave existed among the Indo-Europeans in the bronze epoch and hence they knew the patriarchal slavery of the times. In the epoch of "Avesta" there existed slaves and dependent people. In later times there is information about slaves in Parthia, in Sogd slaves who came from Bactria and perhaps from Fargana are mentioned. In the "Old Sogdian Letters" and other Sogdian written relics the terms "vandak" ("slave") and "daya" ("slave woman") can be found. In the Sogdian marriage contract (the beginning of the 8th Century A.D.) four types of dependent persons are mentioned. Among them there are the above-mentioned slaves "vandaks", indebted "nipaks" and slaves — war prisoners "vanaks". In the Sasanid law code framed in the 6th Century A.D. there were slaves "bandaks" (this is a common designation for slaves) and slaves *anashahriks* (initially drawn from prisoners of war).⁴⁹ In nearby synchronic inscriptions on 'ossuvars' (containers for bones) in Tok-kala (Khwarezm) the term "Hunanik" ("slave") is mentioned. According to some data, before the Arab conquest, the term "Hun" meant slaves from other countries.

The documents from Toprak-kala (I-II centuries A.D.) have a special significance for solving the problem of the socio-economic system. There are lists of family houses, to be precise of their male members, *i.e.*, the agnatic group. Thus in document No. 8 it is stated that the group consisted of 21 persons among whom four were free (house-owners), two adult sons and one son-in-law.

48. The information in the sources about slaves in Central Asia is collected and analysed in the first volume of "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow, 1963).

49. ITN, I, 1963, pp. 468-476.

Among slaves (or domestic servants) 17, of whom 12 were slaves (or domestic servants) of the house-owner, 2-his wives, 2-his children and 1-son of his concubine.⁵⁰ About the historical interpretation of these documents it is better not to write until they are published in full.

However we would like to reiterate that slavery was not the only or the predominant form of labour. Particularly this relates to agriculture. Well-known Marxist Indologist Walter Ruben (GDR) is of the view that in ancient India even though the number of slaves was very large, their role in production (in both agriculture and crafts) was not quite significant as their labour was not profitable.⁵¹ This was not true of India alone but, as Soviet researchers have shown, in most of the countries of the ancient world it was the same because commodity production had not reached a high level. I.M. Diakonov writes: "...Only such societies as Korinf, Athens or Rome — late republics and early empires — *i.e.* only some societies of the ancient world, societies with basically predominant commodity production, provided the examples of intensive development of non-state slave-owning on a large scale."⁵²

In our view, in Central Asia, slave labour particularly in agricultural production played only a subsidiary if not a secondary role.

In this connection it must also be emphasized that some direct and bulk of indirect data testify that in ancient Central Asia, as in the ancient East as a whole,⁵³ the commune occupied a large place. Patriarchal household communes and uniting them their neighbouring communes — this is the basis on which the ancient society stood. It was, to use I.M. Diakonov's words, in the first place a civil organization of free persons with full rights and slave-owners.⁵⁴

In the early mediaeval Sogd (and perhaps earlier) the commune (*naf*) consisted of the nobility (*azatkar*), traders

50. Gubkova A.V., Livshits V.A., 1967, pp. 13-14; Bentovich I.B., 1969, pp. 304-305.

51. Ruben W., 1957, p. 101.

52. Diakonov I.M., 1963, p. 18.

53. Tyumenev A.I., 1956; Diakonov I.M., 1959; 1963 and others.

54. Diakonov I.M., 1963, p. 33.

(*khvakar*) and free peasants — commune members and artisans (*karikar*).⁵⁵ In general, from the times of *Avesta* we come across in the Iranian languages contrapositioning of the high in social status and the low. The first were called *azata* ("free" "nobleman").⁵⁶ The opposite of them were the dependent people, in the first place slaves.

In the words of F. Engels, "Eastern despotism was established on the basis of common property."⁵⁷

Although slave-owning relations played an important role in the socio-economic system and in the society as a whole, as was in the case of most of the ancient countries of the East, in Central Asia leading role belonged to the commune members particularly in agriculture. In the village it was the time of domination of the rural commune.

The communal character of land cultivation slowed down the process of transition from the natural to the commodity economy, for it is known that "conversion of product into commodity becomes prominent commensurate with the further decline of communal structure of life."⁵⁸

As was shown in the previous chapters, in Central Asia although urban life emerged quite early and trade with many countries began, natural character of economy continued to be predominant. Though on account of it, internal trade and money circulation could not enter sufficiently deep, these factors (early emergence of urban life and trade with adjoining countries) had their influence on the "transformation of the patriarchal system of slavery, turning to production of the direct means of existence, into slave-owning system, directed, to production of the surplus value".⁵⁹ In the mountainous and steppe areas of Central Asia there

55. ITN, I, p. 472.

56. For history of this term see: Bailey H.W., 1932, pp. 952-954. About the "*azats*" in the Khotano-Saka texts see: Bailey H.W., 1960, p. 95. For use of this term in Indian documents, written in Kharoshti script (Eastern Turkistan) see: Burrow T., 1934, p. 509.

57. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 20, p. 647 (in Russian).

58. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 23, p. 89.

59. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 25, Pt. I, pp. 364-365 (in Russian).

continued, as before, the unbroken unity of town and the village. Here craft had not become finally separate from agriculture.

The co-existence and close interaction of the agricultural regions with the world of nomadic tribes over many centuries and millennia was a characteristic phenomenon for the historical development of Central Asia and many other countries of the East.⁶⁰

One of the functions of Eastern despotism was the permanent waging of wars with the aim of looting others' countries and seizure of vast territories.

It is also necessary to underline the large uneven economic development and on account of it the development of slave-owning relations in the different regions of Central Asia. The Oases districts of Sogd, Khwarezm, Bactria (Tokharistan), Fargana and Khorasan were leading in the economic sphere. The isolated mountainous regions of the Pamirs, Badakhshan, Kohistan and others were more backward. The steppe regions, Semirechiye, the regions near the Aral and the Caspian, the present day Kazakhstan, formed the periphery. The Chach oasis and Ustrushan formed buffer regions of their own kind. In the cattle-breeding economies of the steppe and the isolated mountain regions the tribal-clan system showed its great vitality. In the oases districts, the slave-owning relations developed intensively.

On the whole it may be noted that in Central Asia the slave-owning relations had not become so deep as in the world of antiquity.

Basically an increasingly sharp conflict was going on here between the growing military-slave-owning nobility and priesthood, possessing slaves, large landed estates, trade caravans, on the one side, and on the other, the common commune members falling into different forms of dependence on them.

The state power was concentrated into the hands of the nobility and priesthood with the despot-king at their head and his army standing over the people. With the help of strong central power the dominant ruling clique exploited the slaves and the commune members.

60. For more details about this see: Gafurov B.G., 1968, pp. 7-8.

Even about such classical countries of the world of antiquity as Rome, K. Marx wrote: "...In the ancient Rome class struggle went on only among the privileged minority, between the free rich and the free poor, at a time when the great productive mass of the population, the slaves, only served as the passive pedestal for these fighters".⁶¹ It was all the more like that in Central Asia. There the main productive mass were the free members of the commune and the main class conflicts, of which only silent echoes are met in the ancient sources, were taking place between the aristocrats and the free poor members of the commune.

In short, such is the general picture of the social processes going on from VII century B.C. to III-IV centuries A.D.

The rural communes had at a known stage, territorial links and along with them the local links were being strengthened.

Concerning the processes of formation of the peoples of Central Asia, it is necessary to note that in this period clan ties were replaced. Besides simple unions of tribes living side by side, we notice the processes of their fusion, formation of *narodnosti*, i.e. peoples.

However, in those historical conditions such processes of formation of peoples as Engels noted for the Greeks of the antiquity did not proceed further than creation of tribal unions only partly connected with one another. The pre-requisites for formation of a large people were not there then.⁶² This statement of Engels is confirmed by the example of Central Asia. To speak of a united Sogdian or Khwarezmian people in this period is not possible. Only local centres were being formed, different small local peoples of Sogd, Khwarezm, Bactria, Khorasan and other regions with the rising tendency of their subsequent coming together to form the Sogdian, Khwarezmian and other peoples.

61. See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, T. 16, p. 375.

62. See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch.*, T. 22, pp. 482-483 (in Russian).

PART III

Emergence of Feudal Relations in Central Asia

Chapter 8

Tribes and Peoples of Central Asia in 4th-6th Centuries A.D.

1. Political History

The Sasanid Kingdom

By the III century A.D. under the influence of exhausting wars with the Romans, internal disturbance, the collapse of the Parthian kingdom was taking place. The class antagonism between the slave-owning nobility, commune members and slaves had sharpened; in the hands of the nobility were concentrated the cultivable land.

In the struggle for strong state apparatus which could have kept in obedience the direct producers and help the further growth of wealth and power of the nobility, the aristocracy of Fars (Pars) came forward in close collaboration with the Zoroastrian priesthood.

By 220 A.D. the lord of the Kingdom of Istahr (in Fars) Artashir I Papakan Sasanid¹ became the ruler of the entire Fars. By 224 A.D., having crushed the troops of Artaban V, the last representative of the Arshakid dynasty, Artashir I seized power and organised the state rule, occupying the whole territory of Iran.

The advent of the Sasanids in place of the Parthians cannot be seen as the succession of dynasties. The Parthian dynasty,

1. The grandfather of Artashir I Papakan was Sasan-priest of the temple of the goddess Anahita. From here comes the name of the dynasty of Sasanids.

“weakened by the struggle with Rome, entangled in complex social contradictions, vacillating between the slave-owning West and the commune-clan East, could not give a decisive push to the development of new social relations. This was done by the state of the Sasanids.”²

The Sasanid state lasted more than four hundred years (224 or 226-651 A.D.). For the period of Sasanid rule the following facts are most characteristic. First, from around 4th century A.D. in the Sasanid state feudal relations were developing intensively. Secondly, in contrast to centrifugal (attempts of the sovereign rulers and the rulers of the separate provinces) the role of the central power in Iran was getting strengthened considerably. That is why F. Engels called the Sasanid Empire “orderly... kingdom”.³ Thirdly, the influence of Zoroastrian priesthood was growing immensely: Zoroastrianism became state religion and the saying: “The throne is the support of the altar and the altar of the throne” is attributed to Artashir I.

During the rule of the son and successor of Artashir — Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) — the Sasanids crushed the Roman troops, in one of the battles the Roman Emperor got killed and in the other one more Roman Emperor was taken prisoner. The Sasanid state became strong during the reign of Shapur II (309-379 A.D.) — he waged successful wars in the East and the West and founded several cities. The king Iezdigerd I (399-420 A.D.) tried to curb the nobility and the Zoroastrian priesthood, taking support of the Christians who were in great number in the Sasanid state.

The harsh regime set up by the Sasanids evoked great resentment among the people of the conquered regions of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. The uprisings in these regions, the intrusions of nomads were shaking the Sasanid state, and the Sasanid kings and princes were taken prisoners or held as hostages by the Central Asian nomads, as it happened with King Peroz

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2. Diakonov M.M., 1961, p. 260. For an attempt towards a Marxist understanding of the social processes in the Early Sasanid state see: Pigulevskaya N.B., 1956a, pp. 150-152. For date on the history of accession of Artashir see: Lukonin B.G., 1961, pp. 9-24.
 3. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Works*, T. 28, p. 222 (in Russian).

(459-484 A.D.). In Iran the social movements, in particular, the Mazdakit movement arose when under pressure from the popular masses the Sasanid kingdom narrowly escaped destruction.

The Sasanid state reached the zenith of its power during the rule of Khosrov I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.). Besides the big conquering expeditions, in the process of which even Yemen in Arabia was conquered, Khosrov I undertook some military reforms, which strengthened the emerging feudal relations and helped in their further development. A very important role was played by the taxation, military and administrative reforms. These reforms strengthened the central power.

The Sasanid kings tried — and not without success — to merge the Central Asian region. In the middle of 5th century they lost control over the Central Asian region which came under the power of the nomadic tribes. However, later the region of South Turkmenia again came under the power of the Sasanids. The Sasanid state fell in the middle of 7th century under the attack of the Arabs.

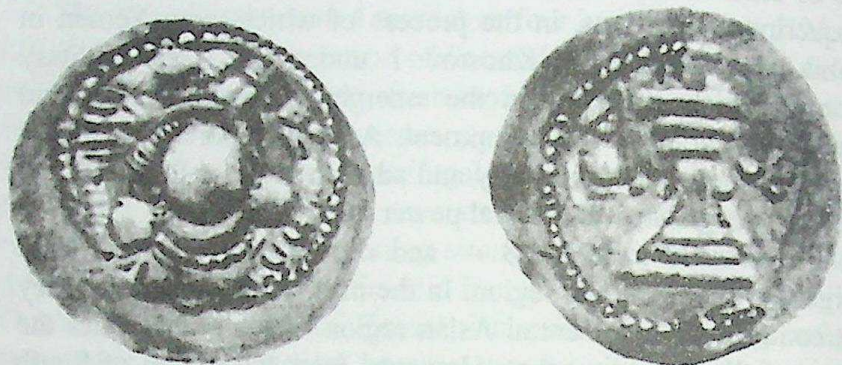
Kidarits

The main information about the Kidarits is contained in the following data of the sources. In the chronicle of Bai-shi it is written that the ruler of the Yueh-Chih has moved his court to the city of Bolo because of the attacks of the *Jujans*. "After this the bold Yueh-Chih king Tsidolo crossed with his troops the big mountains, attacked the northern India and conquered five states lying to the north of Gantolo". Further the chronicle informs about the events of 424 A.D. From another information of Bai-shi it is evident that Tsidolo ruled over the district of the small Yueh-Chih also, but afterwards, "driven out by the Huns, went to the west", and handed over the power to his son.⁴

There are several groups of coins with inscriptions "Kidara-kushana sha" in Brahmi. Going by the script of the inscriptions, they were minted somewhere in the south behind the Hindukush, according to numismatical data, sometime around 390-430 A.D.

4. Bichurin II, pp. 264-266.

The analysis of the coins led A. Bivar to the conclusion that the coins with such a legend were minted continuously at least by two rulers.⁵ As K. Enoki proved Kidarits united under their power Tokharistan and Gandhara around 412-437 A.D.⁶



Kidarit Coin

The Western sources (Prisk Paniiskii) contain an information about the struggle of the "Guns called Kidarits" with the Sasanid Iran in 456 and later years. By the year 456 Prisk Paniiskii (19) holds the view that the "Pars" (i.e., Sasanid) king waged the war with the "Guns — Kidarits". The same source under the year 464 A.D. writes that the Sasanid government asserted: "The Romans, (Byzantia — B.G.) ought to help the Pars by money in the war against the so-called Unns-kidarits, that if, the Pars win then the Romans will have the advantage, that the Unns (Kidarits) will not be allowed to cross into the Roman dominions" (Prisk Paniiskii, 25).

It is clear that Tsidolo (old pronunciation ki-o-ta-la)⁷ of the Chinese sources and the Kidar of the coin inscriptions give the same name. All the rest cannot be convincingly interpreted. We can assume, if the Chinese sources are to be believed that the Kidarits were related to Kushans or even were a part of them, but

5. Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 78-79; Bivar A.D.H., 1956, pp. 26-27; Lukonin V.G., 1967, pp. 32-33.

6. Enoki K., 1959, p. 11.

7. Pelliot P., 1934, p. 43.

this is not confirmed by other sources. The question of the relations of the Kidarits, who went to India and those who according to Prisk fought with the Sasanids, is absolutely not clear. Several intelligent hypotheses were presented, particularly about the close link of the Kidarits and the Hionits because of which the latter being the nominal subjects of the Kidarit kings were called "Kidarits".⁸ There is information available that in 477 A.D. Kidarits from the region of Gandhar had sent a mission to China.⁹

Hionits

In 346/47 A.D. Sasanid Shah Shapur II was on the eastern border of his state because from there, according to Ammian Martsellin, (16, 9, 4), there was a threat from "Hionits and Yevsens", in fact "Yeusens". Taking the first letter as a slip of the pen, Marquart¹⁰ suggested to read the latter name as "kuses" — Kushans. If this correction is to be accepted (many scholars think that it is possible), then Hionits appear together with the Kushans (kidarits?). Further (17, 5, 1) Ammian Martsellin narrates that Shapur succeeded in signing the union agreement with the "most distant peoples" — "Hionits and Gelans".

In 359 A.D., because of the obligations of the union, Hionits took part in the battle of the troops of Shapur II near the Syrian city Amida. The leader of the Hionits was Grumbat, "the new king of the Hionits a middle-aged person already with wrinkles, a ruler with outstanding intelligence and famous for many victories. With him was his son a handsome youngman, who fell in the battle" (Ammian Martsellin, 18, 6, 20; 19, 1, 7-11).

At the end of the 60s and in the middle of the 70s Shapur II fought twice with the "Kushans", whose capital was Balkh. The events of these battles are narrated by Armenian historian Favst Buzand. The first war was started by the "king of the Kushans". Shapur II personally led the Sasanid army but this did not help the

8. Mandalshtam A.M., 1958.

9. Enoki K., 1959, p. 27. In his opinion in Gandhara the Kidarits were defeated by the Ephtalites between 477-520 A.D. (Enoki K., 1955b, p. 236; 1958, p. 1).

10. Marquart I., 1901, p. 36.

Pars. "The Kushan troops defeated the Persian troops. Many of the Persian troops were killed and many were taken prisoners and others were forced to flee" — writes the Armenian historian. The second war in which Shapur II wanted to take revenge ended in the same sad way for the Pars.¹¹

Of course, here under the name of the "Kushans" figure some other ethnic formation — Kidarits, Hionits or perhaps both.

In the inscription of Samudragupta on the Allahabad column are listed "daivaputra-shahi-shahanushahi-shaka-marunda" and the inhabitants of the islands, like Ceylon which speak of the vassal dependence on Samudragupta, present him daughters as wives and petition for receiving the royal deed to rule over their own territory, recognizing the suzerain power of Samudragupta.

The above cited title in inverted commas has been differently interpreted by researchers working on this inscription dividing it into several parts (every researcher in his own way). The interpretation given by Indian scholar Buddha Prakash appears to be quite attractive. He singles out as one term "daivaputra-shahi-shahanushahi" and thinks that it was related to some outstanding Kushan ruler in the middle of the 4th century (the inscription on the column belongs to this period). The viewpoint of the other historian A.S. Altekar, that the reference in the Allahabad inscription meant Kidar¹², is also interesting. Here the fact that between the information of Favst Buzand who tells about "the great king of the Kushans"¹³ and the title in the Indian inscription which mentions the heavenly "king of kings", there is something in common is noteworthy. But the inclusion of this inscription in the circle of sources also does not at all clear the situation, in particular about the mutual relations between the Kidarits and the Hionits.

11. Trever K.V., 1954, pp. 133-134.

12. Buddha Prakash, 1957; 1954, p. 135. J. Allan, on the contrary, thinks that the question is about the representatives of the different "Saks and Kushan peoples" whose area extended from the borders of India upto the Amu Daria river (Allan J., 1914, pp. XX-XXVIII).

13. Trevor K.V., 1954, p. 134.

But it is necessary to turn to the Chinese sources, perhaps. Until recently it was considered that they do not contain information about the Hionits. However, now Japanese scholar K. Enoki has proved that the information of Chinese chronicle about the conquest by the "Huns" of Sude and that they "having murdered the ruler of Sudes seized his lands" (the lord of Huns constituted the fourth generation after this), relates to Sogd and in fact under the name of "Huns" appear the Hionits.¹⁴ All that we can extract from this information is limited to the statement that Sogd at some stage was conquered by the Hionits and chronological calculations (the information is related to 437 A.D.) show that they might have conquered Sogd before their appearance in the south of Central Asia, *i.e.*, they passed through Sogd.

It is necessary to note that if in the sources the Hionits are mixed with the Kidarits, it is also no less complicated to draw a line between the information about the Hionits and Epthalites. This relates to the events of the first half and the middle of the fifth century. Soon after the accession on the Sasanid throne of Varahran V Bahram Gur (420-437 A.D.) as the Arab authors Tabari and Dinaveri inform, the Kagan "Tiurok" invaded Khorasan and started looting the country. Pretending that he was going to Azerbaijan Bahram Gur covertly taking all the precautions came close to the unsuspecting "Tiurks" who pitched up their camp in the region of Merv. Then the warriors raised a great hue and cry and the "Tiurks" fled. Bahram Gur killed the Kagan of the "Tiurks", seized his wife, chased the "Tiurks" upto the Amu Daria, crossed the river in the region of Amul and "when he approached them, the Tiurks showed their obedience and asked him that he demarcate a definite border between them and him which they pledged never to cross. Bahram chose the place as the border which deeply penetrated into their country, ordered to build a tower there marking it as the border" — thus narrates Dinaveri.

Tabari informs that the border had been set up between the Tiurks and the regions bordering with the "country of the Tiurks".

14. Bichurin II, p. 260; Enoki K., 1955a; 1959, pp. 24-25.

He also gives details about the booty captured by Bahram Gur. More importantly, he appointed the satrap of Khorasan with residence in Balkh.¹⁵ Thus, notwithstanding the victory, the situation on the Eastern border demanded a constant control. Perhaps about the same episode it is necessary to relate the information given by Firdausi that after the defeat of the "Tiurok" the nobility of Chaganian, Huttalyan, Bulkh and Bukhara were forced to pay tribute to Iran.

The name "Tiurks" itself is a clear anachronism. I. Marquart draws attention to two circumstances. First, in one Pahelvian work ("Yadgar Zareran") is narrated the battle of the king of Iran Vishtasp with the king of the Hionits, Arjasp, perhaps in the steppes of the region of Merv. After the victory, Vishtasp comes back to Balkh. All this very closely reminds the main events of the war of Bahram Gur. Secondly, the satrap of Khorasan receives the title "marzban-i-kushan", i.e., "the protector of the border with Kushans".¹⁶ From this I. Marquart draws quite a convincing conclusion, that Bahram Gur in fact waged a war with the Hionits.¹⁷

Why the satrap of Balkh carried the title "marzban-i-kushan"? Here two explanations are possible. First, according to Tabari Bahram Gur was going to annex a part of the territory of India where there were some Kushan dominions, and such a title could be political manifestation of its kind. But the other explanation is also possible: in Iran it was thought (or known) that there was some kind of link between the newly emerged Hionits and the long known Kushans. The latter assumption is supported by the following circumstance. Under Yezdiyad II (438-457 A.D.) continued the wars with the northern nomads. A participant and contemporary of this war, Armenian historian Yegishe Vardapet informs that Sasanid king "suddenly attacked the lands of *Honos who are also called Kushans* and waged war with them for two

15. Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 98-102; Shmidt A. E., 1958, pp. 445-446, 474-475.

16. Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 101-102.

17. Marquart I., 1901, pp. 50-52.

years but could not subdue them.”¹⁸ Thus two completely independent sources, about the Hionits, mention the Kushans. This supports the view that the Hionits cannot be separated from the Kushans.

Yezdigerd II was compelled to move his residence to the northern border. The tense situation there lasted more than decades. Armenian historian Yegishe Vardapet wrote that in 450 A.D. “Yezdigerd collected large troops and with them reached the land of the Ephtalites. Seeing this king of the Kushans decided not to fight. He fled with troops into the inaccessible parts of the desert.” After this Yezdigerd II devastated the Kushan country, seizing many castles and cities taking many prisoners and booty. We cannot agree with K.V. Trevor who saw the phrase “the land of Ephtalites” in this text and reached the conclusion that the Ephtalites in these years “perhaps as yet did not rule over the Kushans.”¹⁹ We on the contrary think that this text testifies to the fact that the hegemony over the Hionits had already shifted to the Ephtalites; the whole territory (“land”) was considered as belonging to the Ephtalites but they did not take part in the battles with Iran till then.

Ephtalites

Thus, in the information of Armenian historian about the events of 450 A.D., was named “the country of the Ephtalites”. Yegishe Vardapet informs that in 453-454 A.D. Yezdigerd II again decided to attack the King of the Kushans but he came to know about this in time and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pars; several regions of Iran were devastated.²⁰

E.E. Nerazik, on the basis of the text, expressed opinion, with which we can agree, that this military campaign was directed more towards eastern regions than the earlier one and that possibly the battle took place not with the Hionits but with the Ephtalites.²¹ It can be assumed that this was the first military clash of the Sasanid

18. Trevor K.V., 1954, p. 136. (italics B.G.)

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

20. Yegishe Vardapet, 1853, pp. 256-257.

21. ITN, I., p. 410.

Iran with the Ephtalites and in it the Sasanids must have felt that a new and more powerful enemy was advancing. But this was only the beginning.

The new confederation in the 50s of the 5th century A.D. had become so strong that it sent its missions; the first mission of the Ephtalites²² in China arrived 456 A.D. In the light of the strengthening of the Ephtalite confederation it becomes clear that the pressure put by the "Huns-Kidarit", at the end of the 50s, and 60s of the 5th century, was not accidental.

The struggle with the Ephtalites reached its zenith during Peroz (459-484). From the information of the Arab authors it follows that Peroz came to power with the support of the population of "Tokharistan and the adjoining areas". He "strengthened the power of the Ephtalites and as a gratitude for their help promised not to violate their borders". But as Tabari informs "afterwards Peroz undertook a military campaign against the people who possessed Tokharistan and were called Ephtalites". Peroz with his army reached the tower built on the border by Bahram Gur. Then Tabari narrates a fairy tale story as to how Peroz tried to hide his broken promise which he had given to the king of the Ephtalites, Akhshunvar, to honour the border. Having reached the tower "Firus (Peroz) ordered to tie 50 elephants and 300 men to it; the tower was pulled before him and he followed it closely, assuming that he was thus not breaking the agreement with Akhshunvar". In the battle with the Ephtalites Peroz and a sizeable part of his troops fell into a booby trap and were killed. The Ephtalites seized the whole of Khorasan.²³ Dinaveri calls the king of "Turks", *i.e.*, the Ephtalites Akhshuvan.

Like Tabari he narrates about the laying of the deep trap, carefully camouflaged. The king and his troops fell into the trap; they, as the historian writer states, "vanished into a dark night." In this trap he was killed by stones and the whole of his camp along with his daughter, priest, women and property fell into the hands

22. Enoki K., 1955b, p. 234.

23. Shmidt A.E., 1958, pp. 448-449; Noldeke Th., 1879, pp. 115-132.

of the Ephtalites.²⁴ A Byzantine source also gives information about this water filled pit.

These events are described not only in the Arab but also in the Syrian, Byzantian and Armenian sources. Peroz fought with the Ephtalites thrice. The first war ended with his defeat and imprisonment by the Ephtalites. He was freed on ransom by the Byzantinian Emperor. After sometime Peroz again started the war and was imprisoned again. That is when he gave the promise not to violate the border of the Ephtalites and was to pay them a huge contribution: 30 mules laden with coins. While in prison he ordered this treasure to be supplied to the Ephtalites but the depleted treasury could only give a part of it. Peroz nevertheless got himself freed by leaving behind his son as a hostage. The reason for the third war, if one were to accept the information of Prisk Paniiskii (1, 27), was the deceit practised by Peroz on the Ephtalites. He offered the "Gunns" conclusion of peace and as a guarantee for his peaceful intentions he sent to the "Gunn" ruler a woman as a wife saying that she was his sister. The woman who came to the "Gunns" disclosed the deception — she was not Peroz's sister but his slave. The offended "Gunn" ruler Kunha giving the pretext that he had a big army but no experienced military leaders asked him to send Persians as military instructors. When they arrived (Peroz sent three hundred noble Persians) the Ephtalites disfigured some of them and killed the rest.²⁵ The third war was resumed which led to the inglorious end of Peroz.²⁶

24. Altheim R., 1960, pp. 51-52; Arab and Persian speaking authors give the name of this king as Khushnawaz (Firdausi) or Akhshunvar (Tabari). (Marquart I., 1901, p. 60; Livshits V.A. 1969, p. 67). This name, etymologically, means ("possessing power") or Aksondar ("carrier of power") (Maenchen-Heljen O.J., 1959, p. 230) may be it is not a name but a title in Iranian Akhsendar.

25. About these events see, Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, pp. 56-59. Prisk Paniiskii calls Kunha — the King of Gunns-Kidarits. In one of the manuscripts, the name of the king is written as Gunhaz (Altheim F., 1959, I, p. 32). Different interpretations of this source are possible. It cannot be excluded that this information of Prisk Paniiskii is related to the Kidarits who with the Ephtalites simultaneously attacked Iran. In 468 A.D. from the Byzantine, information was received through the Persian embassy that "the Persians have defeated Huns-Kidarits and are storming their city

The terrible defeat had a depressing effect on the population of Iran. According to a source in Iran, "even during peaceful time nobody could look at the Ephtalite and hear about him without fear".

One Persian nobleman characterised the situation in Iran, after the defeat of Peroz by the Ephtalites, in such words: "Peroz gave away to the Ephtalites [our] such a large and independent state and did it in such a manner that as long as the country of the Aryas (Iran — B.G.) would exist it will never be able to get rid of such a sorrowful disservice".²⁷

In medieval Persian "Bakhman-yasht", there is an excerpt evoked by the events of the 80s of the fourth century: "Thus these people, the descendants of Yarort, killed hundreds, thousands, tens of thousand times. The vast army of these demons with dishevelled hair burst upon them. They entered the lands of my Iran created by Ormuzd. Their contingents entered in a broad front — the hostile Turks and the red Hions whose flags flew half mast."²⁸

Sasanid Iran, before whom the proud Roman emperors bowed their head many times, was now at the end of 5th century trembling out of fear before the fierce Central Asian nomads — the Ephtalites — and paid them tribute.²⁹

We have already mentioned about the seizure of Sogd by the Ephtalites (between 467-470 and 480 A.D.). Then they started subjugating the lands of Eastern Turkestan. The region of Turfan

Vallam (Prisk Paniiskii 35). It may be assumed that Vallam was the headquarters of the nomads somewhere in the region of south-west Turkmenia. Paniiskii called all Central Asians Huns Kidarits and Vallam as Balkh; in his stories about Kidarits, information about different Central Asian nomads is mixed up.

26. Feofan Byzantinian writes: "After the king of Ephtalites, Eftalan, from whom the people got their name, defeated Peroz, the Persians lost these places" (For Russian translation of the whole text see: "Byzantinian Historians", 1860, p. 493). It is quite likely that the name given by Feofan is the outcome of popular etymology.

27. Trevor K.V., 1954, p. 138.

28. From the translation by H. Bailey: Bailey H.W., 1954, pp. 13-14.

29. On the basis of numismatic data (Masson V.M., Ramodin V.A., 1964, p. 204).

was subjugated by them in 479 A.D., Urumchi in 490-497 A.D., Karashara between 497 and 507 A.D.³⁰ The might and prestige of the Ephtalites in Eastern Turkestan may be judged from the following fact. In 522 A.D. Dzuan, ruler of one of the districts of the Khara-khoto region, rebelled against the Chinese and fled to the side of the Ephtalites to seek their help against his enemies.³¹ If taken into account that Khotan and Kashgar also joined the Ephtalite state (probably at the end of 5th century), it can be presumed that in the beginning of 6th century they possessed the entire Eastern Turkestan.

The Chinese chronicles list the possessions, which formed the Ephtalite state. Comparing this information with the latest Arab-Persian sources enables to draw the conclusion that the main part of Central Asia was included in their state and an impression is formed (even I. Marquart noted this) that Tokharistan was the most important part of their state. The Ephtalites, besides this, also made some conquests in the south. In the second half of the 5th century they seized Gandhara³² and later on some territory in northern India.

The Indian part of the history of the Ephtalites is also as distant from clarity as the Central Asian one. In the Indian sources the Ephtalites are called the Huns. There exists data that the last great ruler of the Indian Gupta dynasty — Skandgupta — (according to some sources ruled approximately in 435-467 A.D.³³ and according to others from 455-456 approximately to 470 A.D.)³⁴ was compelled to defend himself and was able to defeat them.³⁵ It can be presumed that these were the first invasions of the Ephtalites who by that time had seized Gandhara.

For the subsequent period we have the data from different sources including Indian chronicles and inscriptions, information by

30. Enoki K., 1955b, p. 235.

31. *Ibid*, 1959, pp. 25-26.

32. According to K. Enoki, it happened between 477 and 520 A.D. (Enoki K., 1959, p. 27) but more probably at the beginning of this period.

33. Sinha N.K., Bannerji A.C., 1954, p. 89.

34. "The Yakataka Gupta age", 1954, p. 161, 169, Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 25, 28.

35. *Ibid*, 1954, pp. 163-164; Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 26.

Chinese and other travellers which contain extremely contradictory facts; consequently these have appeared in various versions of their interpretation offered by different scholars. At the very end of the 5th — first decade of the 6th century at the head of the Indian Huns stood the ruler Toraman who is called in one of the Indian inscriptions “the famous Toraman, highly glorious ruler of the land”. His successor was his son Mihirkul about whom much later Huan-tsang wrote that he ruled over the whole of India and “subjugated the entire neighbouring provinces without any exception”. Perhaps during the rule of Mihirkul the territories of the Ephtalites, in northern India, were really maximum. However, many measures adopted by him, particularly the persecution of Buddhism turned the Indian population against him. He lost the war against the Gupta ruler Yashodharman but afterwards captured Kashmir.

The main part of northern India was freed from the yoke of “Huns”—Ephtalites by the middle of 6th century. The reasons for this — Indian historian R.C. Majumdar is quite correct in this regard — are not the defeats which were suffered by the chiefs of Indian Huns but the crushing defeat of the Central Asian Ephtalites in the beginning of the sixties of 6th century.³⁶ As a result of this defeat the Indian Ephtalites were deprived of their Central Asian rear, fresh flow of forces and support which led to their fall — this is one more example of the close interaction between the history of India and Central Asia. Although in India the existence of Ephtalite communes and even small kingdoms was known for a long time, the “Huns”—Ephtalites did not play a serious role in Indian history anymore.³⁷

In the narration of the above-mentioned political events the numismatic material was not practically used and it was done deliberately. The more detailed publication of the coins of the Kidarits—Ephtalite circle is the four-volume work of R. Göbl “Documents of the History of Iranian Huns in Bactria and India”.³⁸ This excellently documented book forms the foundation of

36. Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 39.

37. “The Yakataka — Gupta age”, 1954, pp. 147-185; Majumdar R.C., 1954, p. 26; Mc Govern W.M., 1939, pp. 414-417.

38. Göbl R., 1967.

scientific study of Ephtalite numismatics. Vast material (but the collections in the Soviet museums were not used) was divided by R. Göbl into 297 emissions — issues. He also changed the whole scheme of division of the Ephtalite mint. In ways different than before, many legends on coins have been read and serious historical conclusions drawn. Giving due appreciation to the meticulous work of the author who, however, was unaware of the main part of the Soviet historical and numismatic literature we will refrain from using his general historical conclusions as they are based mainly on his readings, in many cases disputable and requiring substantiation by linguists — Iranists. Unfortunately even after the appearance of the work of R. Göbl (as well as the preceding monograph of R. Girshman and others) the problem of using the Ephtalite coins as a full-fledged historical source remains unresolved; this remains as the work for the future.



Ephtalite Coin

Thus the Ephtalites formed a huge state formation which surpassed in its size the Kushan state but at the same time was loose and fragile. Nevertheless, the Ephtalites played an important role in the history of Central Asia and many countries of the East. It were they who succeeded, not only in checkmating the armies of the Sasanid Iran in the East but to inflict a crushing defeat on the Sasanid kings. The standards of the Ephtalite contingents fluttered over the valleys of Iran; the Ephtalite rulers solved the question of 'to be or not to be the Shahanshah of Iran' by the various claimants and the regular payment to them of the tribute was the main concern of many Iranian states.

The peoples of Caucasia who had been subjugated by the Sasanids raised their heads. They intensified their struggle against the Sasanid yoke. In 483-484 A.D. in Iberia, Armenia and Caucasian Albania rebellion against Sasanid rule started. The rebels took advantage of the defeats of Peroz which he suffered at the hands of the Ephtalites and of the weakening of the Sasanid power.³⁹ Thus the struggle of the enslaved peoples of Transcaucasia got intertwined with the onslaught of the Central Asian people — the Ephtalites. Lastly, the Ephtalites played an important role in the ethno-genesis of India, Afghanistan and particularly Central Asia.

2. Problems of Ethnic History

Class Struggle

Problem of Origin of the Hionites and the Ephtalites: A Syrian writer of the 6th century Ieshu Stilit wrote: "Hionites are the Huns".⁴⁰ However, it will not be proper to accept this statement unconditionally. For the Western authors of that period all the Central Asian nomads were "Huns" or "White Huns", irrespective of their real name.

Several contemporary researchers compared Hionites with the "Hiaona" mentioned in "Avesta".⁴¹ They are the enemies of Zoroastrians, enemies of the truthful king Vishtaspa, patron of Zoroastr. According to the text of the "Avesta" they were "bad" and "infidels" and perhaps could be considered as nomads. F. Altheim even compared one expression of "Avesta" with "pointed helmet and sharp shield" ("Yasht" XIX, 30), which was used in not very clear context with Saks-tigrahauda whose ethnonym also etymologised as "pointed helmet" and drew the following conclusion: "Hiaona thus appear along with one Saks tribe between Oks and Yaksart".⁴² This question became the subject of

39. D'iakonov M.M., 1961, p. 277.

40. Marquart I., 1901, p. 58; Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 36.

41. *Ibid*, p. 50; Herzfeld E., 1930, p. 19.

42. Altheim F., 1959, I, pp. 52-53.

detailed study by the famous Iranist H. Bailey⁴³ who developed the idea that they were really the tribes who preserved the name already found in "Avesta". It is true that H. Bailey fully recognises the complexity of the problem. He is of the view that initially ("during the times of Vishtaspa") they were located in the region of Oxus. But what happened with them later, whether they went away towards the north-east and later came back again to the south or whether they remained at the same place, how they interacted with the "Huns", whether the "Huns" preserved their old name "Hiiaona" — Bailey sees no answer to this.⁴⁴

Really in view of the contemporary level of knowledge we cannot either answer these questions or come to some definite conclusion regarding the problem of correlation of the term "Hiiaona" with the historical "Hionites". To follow the idea, which was clearly expressed by Bailey, it is necessary to accept that some very powerful confederation of the tribes — enemies of the Zoroastrians — mentioned in "Yashtar" later disappeared completely in the historical sources. As Maenchen-Helfen writes, "Where they were hiding all these times remains a mystery"; the hypothesis about their going away to the north-east is completely "improbable and as Morgenstern asserts "they did not even exist".⁴⁵

Thus there are two mutually contradictory views. Whether there really existed "during the times of Vishtaspa" in 6th century B.C. the tribes of "Hiiaona"? Marquart expressed convincing views on this question. Even at the beginning of 20th century, describing the heavy defeats inflicted by Hionites and Ephtalites on Sasanid Iran, he wrote: "The influence which these people had on Iranians was so strong that even their name entered "Avesta" and drove away completely the initial name of the enemies of Kavi Vishtaspa who was the patron of Zaratusht".⁴⁶ This point of view was accepted by E. Herzfeld⁴⁷ and R. Ghirshman.⁴⁸

43. See for his initial views on this question: Bailey H.W., 1932, p. 946.

44. Bailey H.W., 1954, pp. 20-21.

45. Maenchen-Helfen O.J., 1959, pp. 227-228. See also the works of Ghirshman: Ghirshman R., 1948, p. 116.

46. Marquart I., 1901, p. 50.

47. Herzfeld E., 1947, pp. 771-774.

48. Ghirshman R., 1948, p. 116.

Thus it could have been tempting to search for the beginning of Hionites in pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid period (depending on how one dated the ninth "Yasht"), as no basis. Perhaps those scholars are right who insist on the later inclusion of this name in the "Avesta". But even in this case it is of interest, not as evidence of early origin but as reflection of political situation, in a considerably later period. At the same time it once again shows how complicated is the problem of the origin of the Hionites on the whole.

The name of Hionite king Grumbat can be translated from Iranian as "one who is patronised by Bahram".⁴⁹ The son of Grumbat is described by Ammian Martsellin as a youngman "who surpassed his peers in height and beauty" (Ammian Martsellin, 19, I, 7). As the same author calls the Huns "ugly", "monstrous" and "awful" we may share the view of those scholars who believe that what was said by the western authors about the appearance of this youngman — a representative of the Hionite tribes — that he was handsome, it could hardly be possible to express in these words if he had resemblance with the Huns.⁵⁰

Even more important is the description of the burial rites of the Hionites. According to Ammian Martsellin (19, I, 10-11; 19, 2, 1) the body of the dead prince "in military uniform was taken out and placed on the large high pedestal; around there were placed ten boxes with depiction of the dead in a way resembling the real persons. During ten days all people feasted in groups in tents and contingents, singing special burial songs and bemoaning the dead youngman, and women were groaning in their own way bemoaning the hopes of the people. ..." Thereafter "the body was cremated and bones collected in a silver urn in order to be taken for burial on the native land according to the will of the dead youngman."

In literature it is noted that the elements of analogical rites were found during excavations at the sites of Kanga-kala and

49. This etymology is offered by F. Andreas (see Ghirshman R., 1948, p. 117; Maenchen-Helfen O.J. 1959, p. 230). Turkish etymologies (Altheim F. and Stiehl R., 1954, p. 277) cannot be accepted.

50. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 36.

Kunya-uaz on the left bank of Khwarezm. Here "around the place for large fire there were parts of skeletons and skulls. Besides there were found pieces of coloured clay carrying depiction of human face (Kanga-kala) and details of human figure (the hand in its natural size which was made by wrapping the cloth soaked in alabaster around the iron frame found in the burial room of Kunya-uaz)"⁵¹ These and some other observations made some Soviet scholars think that the native land of the Hionites was near the Aral region;⁵² this hypothesis is quite likely. But one should not forget the existence of the separate elements of burial rites, similar to Hionites in other regions of Central Asia also. According to the testimony of the Chinese chronicles, in Shi (Tashkent oasis) there existed a building inside which was a pedestal. Every year the burial rite is performed: on this pedestal "...a golden urn is placed containing the ashes of the burnt bones of the late parents of the owner. Then people go round the pedestal with this urn showering flowers and fruits. The owner along with the noblemen provides the sacrificial meat."⁵³

In Fargana on the middle Syr Daria and in the near-Aral region the alabaster depiction-idols were put in graves.⁵⁴

Although the viewpoint of the Syrian author of 6th century about the similarity of Hionites with Huns can be convincingly rejected, but we cannot put forward any final theory about the origin of Hionites to counter balance it. It can only be said that the Hionites were probably Iranian-speaking tribes of Central Asian origin.

There is a lot of information about the origin and ethnic status of the Ephtalites but alas it does not help as this information is contradictory. Prokopii Kesariiskii who called Ephtalites "White Huns" wrote: "Although the Ephtalites are a Hun people and they are called so, however, they do not mix up and communicate with those Huns whom we know as they do not have a common border

51. Rapoport U.A., 1958, p. 61.

52. ITN, I, pp. 413-414.

53. Bichurin, II, pp. 272-282.

54. About them see Davidovich Ye. A. and Litvinskii B.A., 1955, pp. 51-62; Levina L.M., 1968.

with them and do not live near them...., they are not nomads as the other Hun peoples and from the ancient times they are settled on a fertile land... They are one of the Huns with white skin and they are not ugly. They do not lead a way of life similar to them and they do not live like animals but they are ruled by one king and have a full-fledged statehood observing among themselves and neighbours justice no less than the Romans and the Persians."⁵⁵

Thus Prokopii Kesariiskii clearly distinguishes Ephtalites from Huns. He not only asserts the fact that they are different people but also gives a comprehensive proof for this. Surely, such a kind of detailed and well-argued point of view of a well-informed source cannot be underestimated. At the same time he says nothing about the origin of the Ephtalites.

The Chinese sources contain many versions of the origin of the Ephtalites. However, they do not have any unanimity. The Chinese information can be divided into the following groups: (a) the Ephtalites are a kind of Yueh-Chih; (b) the Ephtalites are a branch of the Turkic tribe Gaoguyi; (c) the Ephtalites originate from the tribe Cheshi (Turfan); (d) they are the inheritors of Kangui. One of the ancient Chinese authors narrating the origin of the Ephtalites stated: "The information received from the far-flung countries and from the peoples speaking foreign languages is subjected to distortion and wrong understanding and this relates to very ancient times. Thus we do not exactly know as to how it happened. In this way it is impossible to solve the question about the origin of the Ephtalites."⁵⁶ A contemporary Japanese scholar K. Enoki, who has studied all these versions in detail and with full knowledge in the field, was obliged to come to a completely analogical conclusion: the Chinese authors did not know the real origin of the Ephtalites and their versions are of a bookish and as a rule completely arbitrary character.⁵⁷

Taking into account various variants of the Chinese versions, the Western scholars put forward many theories about the ethnic

55. The other Byzantinian historian Agafii briefly writes: "The Ephtalites are the Hun people." (Prisk Paniiskii, 91-92 note 116.)

56. Enoki K., 1959, p. 7.

57. Enoki K., 1959, pp. 1-14; 1955, pp. 232-235.

origin of the Ephtalites. Some of them considered the Ephtalites as the descendants of the Yueh-Chihhs. According to others they originated from the Huns and belong to the number of ancient Turks and Mongols. There are theories about their Iranian-speaking origin. In the opinion of some researchers, they are totally different people than the Hionites; and some others prove their identity or even consider the Ephtalites as the "ruling class" of the Hionites.⁵⁸

Let us turn to the existing material. Since long linguists are engaged in analysing the different names and terminologies related to the Ephtalites.

In different sources the Ephtalites besides the "White Huns" are called differently (which itself causes many important difficulties). In the Syrian sources they are called *abdel* and *aptalit*; in the Greek sources *abdel* and *aftalit*; in the Armenian — *heptal*, *idal* and *tetal*; in the middle Persian — *eftal* and *heftal*; in the Arabian — *haital* and *iaftal*; in the Tajik-Persian — *hetal* and *haital*; in the Chinese — *e-da*⁵⁹ (in ancient times it sounded like *iep-tat* and *e-dien* (in ancient times sounded like *i-eptien*)⁶⁰. It is necessary to add that in Pahlavi-Zoroastrian sources they are sometimes called Hions in Indian as *Huns*, Arabs often mistakenly call them Turks and ancient Armenian sources mix them up with Kushans.

F. Altheim tries to derive this ethnonym from the Turkic root which means "to do", "to make".⁶¹ This etymology which is connected with over-stretching seems to be doubtful. The other explanation is also offered — from Iranian *hapta* ("seven").⁶²

In the 10th century Balami wrote: "The name *hayatila* is the plural from of *haital* which in the Bukharan language means the "strong man". In the Bukharan language power means *haital* and this word in the Arabic language is changed to *hayatila*."⁶³ In the

58. Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 10-21, 115; Enoki K., 1959, pp. 15-23; ITN, I, pp. 415-416.

59. Altheim F. und Steihl R., 1953, p. 276; Altheim F., 1959, I, pp. 41-42.

60. Enoki K., 1959, p. 7.

61. Altheim F., 1959, I, p. 44.

62. Maenchen — Helfen O.G., 1959, p. 231.

63. Balami, p. 128.

Eastern Iranian Khotan-Saks language a similar word means "brave" and "glorious".⁶⁴

From the inscriptions on the Ephtalite coins we can come to the following conclusion: the very name of the Ephtalites was *Hion* (on the coins — OIONO), thus the Ephtalites are one of the branches of the Hionites. Judging by the coins the official language of the Ephtalites, in their Tokharistan lands, was Bactrian. In the legends on the coins the Bactrian titles can not be disputed.⁶⁵

It is also imperative to dwell upon the division of the Ephtalites into two parts. This question in contemporary literature was studied by H. Bailey comprehensively and meticulously. The starting point for this discussion are the Pahelvian texts. In *Jamasp-name* (96) there is data about the battle of Iran with the "white Hions". Thereafter (104) there is a victorious announcement: "the carriers of evil — *divas* and *Hions* were annihilated like the wind carrying away the leaves from the trees in winter".⁶⁶ In "Bahman-Yashta" (II, 49) on the contrary it is informed about the defeat of the Sasanids: "The kingdom and the supreme power was transferred to the slaves who were not Iranians but like Hions, Turks, Haftal, Tibetans, people living in hills, Chinese, Sogdians, Byzantiniens, Red and White Hions. They became the kings in Iran — my fatherland."⁶⁷ Thus, in the first of the above-mentioned texts there was reference only to *White Hions*, in the second can be found only *Hions* (standing besides the Turks), and also *Red Hions* (Karmir Hions) and *White Hions* (Spet Hions). The name *Red Hions* according to the commentator of "Bahman-Yashta" was given to them because of their red headgear, red armour and the red banners. In the Indian sources are mentioned the *red* (or "dark") *Huns* or *White Huns* (it may be recalled that *Huns* of Indian sources are the Ephtalites). Lastly in a poem of 7th century, in Khotan-Saks language, there are

64. Livshits V.A., 1969, p. 67, footnote 103.

65. Ghirshman R., 1948; Henning W.B., 1960, p. 51; Livshits V.A., 1969, pp. 67-71.

66. Bailey H.W., 1931, pp. 585-586.

67. *Ibid.*, 1932, pp. 945-946.

mentioned people whose names are deciphered as red-cap wearers. H. Bailey identified them as red Hions. In this connection it is necessary to look at the Western sources which often mention about white Huns (see, for example, Prokopii Kesariiskii, I, 3). At the same time the Byzantinian authors mention also some *Kermihion*. As H. Bailey showed it is the same people who in the Pahelvian sources are called *Kermihion*.⁶⁸

We really almost know nothing about these two groups of Ephtalites: whether they were different tribes who were part of a common confederation or whether they were some ethno-anthropological types within a single tribal massif. It is quite an indicative fact that at the recently found, at Afrasiab (in Samarkand), wall painting where the arrival of a diplomatic mission is depicted, there are figures of two envoys who are in the first place differentiated by the colour of their skin ("red-faced" and "white-faced"). According to V.A. Livshits there is reason to compare these depictions with "Red Hions" and "White Hions".⁶⁹

The Ephtalite script is a direct continuation of the Kushan (Bactrian), but it varies from the Kushan script by its developed italics. It is about the Ephtalite script that Huan-tsang wrote: "Their language is somewhat different from the languages of other countries. The number of main letters is 25 combining which they express all meanings. Their script is written across the page and they read from the left to the right. Their literary works have gradually grown and surpass the number among the Su-li people (Sogd)."⁷⁰

However, these literary works have been preserved in a very small number. The fragments of manuscript from the Eastern

68. Bailey H.W., 1954, pp. 13-20. Writing about "Kermihion" Feofan Byzantinian (excerpt 2) informs that to the East of the Tanais there are Turks who in ancient times were called Massagets; in the Persian language the name of these Turks is Kermihion. E. Chavennes who has exhaustively studied this and other Byzantinian sources thinks that the question is about Juan-Juans (Chavennes E., 1903, pp. 229-233). This hypothesis now cannot be accepted.

69. Livshits V.A., 1965a, p. 6.

70. Beal S., 1906, I, p. 38; Pelliot P., 1934, p. 50.

Turkestan are in particular Ephtalite.⁷¹ Some of them belong perhaps to 7th-8th centuries but related texts have not been deciphered. Some linguists think that they are in Saks language while others consider them Bactrian.

In north-west Pakistan in the valley of river Tochi three inscriptions are found engraved on stones: on one stone there are Arabic and Sanskrit texts, on the other Bactrian and Sanskrit, on the third, which consists of two pieces there, are Bactrian texts and two lines of Arabic. The Bactrian inscriptions are in italics script. There exists a version of their transliteration and translation.⁷² The published translation of these inscription is quite problematic. This was only an attempt. Their dating is quite late. It is perhaps 9th century A.D.

In Central Asia to the number of monuments of Ephtalite script belongs the inscription on a broken piece from Zang-tepe where only one part of six lines⁷³ has been preserved. The inscriptions-graffiti from Kara-tepe and also two lines of italics Bactrian script found at Afrasiab are as just it follows from the nearby Sogdian inscription samples of the official script of the Ephtalites⁷⁴; the badly preserved inscription on the wall painting at Kolkhozabad site of Kafir-Kala.

The reading of inscriptions on Ephtalite coins remains disputable in many aspects. The interpretation of this material is usually possible with the help of Iranian etymologies and indicates to the fact that the language was East Iranian.⁷⁵ Keeping this in mind the supporters of Hun-Turkic origin of the Ephtalites, at present time, explain the presence of indisputably Iranian words by the fact that into the language of the Ephtalites, which was originally Turkic (or Mongolian), the elements of the language of the Iranian people subjugated by them had penetrated. This point

71. Hansen O., 1951; Gershevitch I., 1967; Livshits V.A., 1967, p. 163.

72. Dani A.H., Humbach H., Göbl R., 1964, pp. 125-135.

73. Livshits V.A., 1969, pp. 73-74.

74. Livshits V.A., 1967, p. 164. At Afrasiab there were found several more Ephtalite inscriptions.

75. Bailey H.W., 1937, pp. 892-893 (titles of coin legends are Iranian); Enoki K., 1959, pp. 39-45; Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 67, 117-118; Maenchen-Helfen O.J., 1959, pp. 227-231.

of view is supported among the contemporary scholars, for example by F. Altheim and E. Pulleyblank.⁷⁶ Brief mention of the language of the Ephtalite in the Chinese sources also suggests different interpretations.

There is practically no serious reason to consider the language of the Ephtalite as Turkic or Mongolian; undoubtedly it is almost East Iranian. Only further excavations of its monuments, hard work of the linguists alone will enable to answer the main questions related to it which remain unclear so far and to give a characteristic of the monuments of the Ephtalite script and to determine their mutual relations with the language of the Ephtalite people.

It is also necessary to dwell upon the question about the place of formation of the Ephtalites. From where these mysterious people originate who played such an important role in the history of Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, India and Eastern Turkestan. And here there are more theories than strictly documented facts. Following one or the other version of the Chinese sources the scholars put the place of origin of the Ephtalites sometimes in Altai and sometimes in Eastern Turkistan, etc.

The theory of the origin of the Ephtalites from Badakhshan is highly interesting. In 1959 A.N. Bernshtam spoke of the ethnogenesis and formation of statehood among the Ephtalites and indicated two centres: middle and lower Syr Daria from one side and the upper basin of Amu Daria from the other.⁷⁷

In 1955-1959 the idea of A.N. Bernshtam got a comprehensive mention in the works of Japanese scholar K. Enoki who not only subjected to critical re-examination the present material in its totality but also provided new data from the Chinese sources. The conclusions of K. Enoki were: (a) the original motherland of the Ephtalites was situated near the eastern outskirts of Badakhshan, (b) their culture contained some Iranian elements.⁷⁸ A similar idea about the origin of the Ephtalites from Badakhshan is developed by

76. Altheim F., 1959, I, pp. 41-54; Pulleyblank E.G., 1962, pp. 259-260.

77. Bernshtam A.N., 1951, p. 197.

78. Enoki K., 1955, 1959a.

L.N. Gumilev⁷⁹ who did not add any new argument to the conception of K. Enoki. It is necessary to add that this hypothesis is finally derived from the Chinese sources, exactly from the tradition which Huan-tsang preserved in his narration about the Badakhshan country Gimotalo (Sanskritised form of the word Ephtalite or its some other variant), whose king conquered many countries.⁸⁰ However, this tradition as E.E. Nerazik mentioned could also be traced to the tradition about the Yueh-Chih's conquests and in that case it cannot be used as a proof of the expansion of the power of the Ephtalites from Badakhshan. E.E. Nerazik also pointed to the other weak places of the theory of K. Enoki. One can agree with her critical observations.⁸¹ But this does not belittle the importance of the work of K. Enoki particularly at the level of sources. For confirmation of the Badakhshan hypothesis more additional facts⁸² are required, possibly these will be provided by archaeology.⁸³

In pre-revolutionary Russian literature K.I. Inostrantsev drew attention to similarity of the stone vaults — “mughana” — with the burial sites which according to written sources were found among the Ephtalites.⁸⁴ B.A. Litvinskii while studying “mughana” and other types of burial sites particularly the burials in wooden coffins at the Kurgan foothills (according to Chinese sources these were also spread among the Ephtalites) and taking into account some other facts came to the conclusion that in the formation of the Ephtalite tribes the tribes of the foothill regions of Fargana among whom these types of burials were spread played an important role.

In Soviet historical literature one more viewpoint regarding the origin of the Ephtalites was represented. S.P. Tolstov thinks that the Ephtalites are from the near-Aral region. In the last narration of this theory he wrote, “It may be presumed that in the

79. Gumilev L.N., 1959.

80. Enoki K., 1959, p. 35.

81. ITN, I, pp. 553-554.

82. See Gumilev L.N., 1959.

83. Babaev A.D., 1965, pp. 16-18.

84. Inostrantsev K.I., 1909, pp. 116-120.

4th-5th centuries the deltas of the Amu Daria and Syr Daria were the centres of the barbarian state of the Hionite Ephtalites which was formed on the basis of the ancient Saks-Massaget sub-stratum with the strong mixture of the Hun-Turkic element to which we have referred earlier.”⁸⁵ As mentioned above, facts show that the near-Aral region had never been contrary to the statement of S.P. Tolstov regarding the centre of the state of Hionites and Ephtalites. The data in favour of the near-Aral region as origin of the Ephtalites is also scant.

A critical study of the existing hypotheses compels us to regard the possibility of solving the problem about the place of the formation of the Ephtalites with doubt. As regards their ethnic belonging here the picture is more clear: the Ephtalites were formed on the basis of the Central Asian Eastern Iranian-speaking tribes with certain mixture of Turkic ethnic elements.

The Ephtalite Society

Prokopii Kesariiskii wrote about the “White Huns” — Ephtalites that since the “olden times” they lived a settled life, “are ruled by one king” and “have a legal statehood?”. Menandr preserved the information of a Turkic mission that the Ephtalites are an “urban tribe”; according to him Turks who defeated the Ephtalites became the “lords of their cities” (Menandr fr. 18)⁸⁶ Feofan Byzantinian (fr. 3) says that after defeating the Persians the Ephtalites became the lords of those cities and harbours which were earlier possessed by the Persians. But the Chinese sources give a completely different information. Ye-da-Ephtalites — “do not have cities and live in places where grass and water is in plenty in felt tents”. Traveller Sonyu writes that the Ye-da (Ephtalites) do not have fortified cities; they live a nomadic life.⁸⁷ Both these mutually contradictory informations are joined in the narration of Huan-tsang about Gimotalo. The inhabitants of these regions, *i.e.*, the Ephtalites lived in tents of animal skins and lead a nomadic life. At

85. Tolstov S.P., 1962, p. 244.

86. See for translation of the whole fragment: “Byzantinian Historians”, 1860, p. 374; Bichurin, II, p. 268.

87. Beal S., 1906, p. XC-XCI; Enoki K., 1959, p. 50.

the same time there is an information that in the past they conquered many countries where they “ruled over many highly fortified cities and settlements.”⁸⁸ Thus it cannot be ruled out that western authors took Ephtalites as urban population because they possessed cities and in the later period the Ephtalite elite perhaps settled in cities.



Silver Bowl from Chilik

In the Ephtalite society there existed a distinctly manifested differentiation of property. We learn about it particularly from a description of their burial rites. Along with burials in wooden coffins about which Lyan-shu⁸⁹ informs and the chronicles of Beishi (and Beif-shu) tell the following: “The dead from the rich homes are buried in stone tombs and the poor are buried in graves.”⁹⁰ The aristocracy wore rich clothes. Son Yun describing the clothes of aristocratic women notes: “The clothes of the poor and rich are quite different”.⁹¹ The punishment for crimes against

88. Enoki K., 1959, p. 35.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

90. Bichurin, II, p. 269.

91. Beal S., 1906, p. XC II.

property were extremely strict: "for burglary, without ascertaining the amount, the punishment was beheading; for pilferage fine of ten times the value was imposed."⁹² From the above-mentioned data a conclusion can be drawn: the Ephtalite society was a class society with property differentiation. Among the Ephtalites their own statehood had been formed. The army of the Ephtalites was very powerful. They were armed with clubs⁹³, the Chinese considered them as expert arrow shooters. Later authors thought that their main weapon was sword.⁹⁴

The character of their military actions makes us think that cavalry was their main fighting force. In this respect we agree with F. Altheim⁹⁵ and disagree with L.N. Gumilev.⁹⁶

Among the Ephtalites polyandry was common: "the brothers have one wife, the wife of a husband without brothers, *i.e.*, one husband-wife wears a hat with one angle; multi-husband-wife multiplies the number of angles according to number of brothers; while wearing a dress the number of knots signified the same."⁹⁷ About the tradition of polygamy among the rulers we are informed by different Chinese sources.⁹⁸ Polyandry — a remnant of group marriage — has been preserved till recently in Tibet and some adjoining areas.⁹⁹

According to some sources the Ephtalites did not follow the Buddhist religion but they worshipped their own gods, particularly the god of fire. Every morning they used to come out of their tents and worship their gods. Perhaps they worshipped the sun.¹⁰⁰ However, gradually the faiths of the people conquered by them, particularly Buddhism, started entering their circle. There is also information about the spread of Christianity among the Ephtalites.

92. Bichurin, II, p. 269.

93. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1941, p. 64; Altheim F., 1960, II, pp. 17-18.

94. ITN, I, p. 419.

95. Altheim F., 1960, II, p. 269.

96. Gumilev L.N., 1967b, p. 94.

97. Bichurin, II, p. 268.

98. Miller R.A., 1959, p. 12.

99. Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 125-128; Enoki K., 1959, pp. 51-56.

100. Enoki K., 1959, pp. 45-49, see also: Ghirshman R., 1948, pp. 120-124.

The Mazdak Movement

In Iran, on the threshold of 5th-6th centuries during the rule of Kabad (488-531 A.D.), a big uprising of the popular masses against rising feudal relations took place.¹⁰¹ This movement was led by a person who has gone down in history under the name of Mazdak.¹⁰² Like all other popular movements of that period, the protest of the peasants-communards against serfdom took the form of a religious movement. The founder of this religious movement was Zardusht ben Khurrai. Some scholars think that he lived at the end of the 3rd and beginning of 4th century but it is more likely that he lived in the second half of the 5th century. After his name the religious teaching received the name "Zardushtakan". Mazdak was his pupil and follower.¹⁰³

Mazdak preached that all people are equal and it is necessary to end inequality and to take away the lands and property from the rich people. According to Tabari who relied upon the translations of middle Persian chronicle Mazdak and his followers announced that the God "created all the wealth on the earth in order to be divided among the people equally. But people in doing so wronged each other. The followers of Mazdak state that they take away

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101. For detailed source-related research: Christensen A., 1925. A meticulous study of the sources and the revision of the existing viewpoints is contained in the excellent work of Czechoslovakian orientalist O. Klima (Klima O., 1957) with detailed list of the literature. Among Soviet scholars most important are the works of Pigulevskaya N.V. (1948, 1956). A valuable brief sketch: D'iakonov M.M., 1961, pp. 303-309, 140-142.
102. F. Altheim and R. Shtil have proved that Mazdak belonged to Khwarezm or to the neighbouring country (Altheim F. und Shtil R., 1953). But this as it was shown by O. Klima (Klima O., 1957, pp. 159-165), cannot be accepted. The information given in some sources, that Mazdak belonged to Nisa or some other city of Khorasan, is also not trustworthy. The exact place of origin of Mazdak is not known. Perhaps it is Mesopotamia, the left bank of the river Tigris. Moreover, it is also believed that Mazdak is not the name of a person but a title of the head of the sect or a follower ("Mazdak" or "Mazdik").
103. Klima O., 1957. A detailed summary of the history and ideology of the Mazdakit movement is outside our theme. We shall touch upon some moments referring to special researches and works on the history of Sasanid Iran.

what is possessed by the rich people and give back to the poor because if somebody has an excess of money, wives and other property, it does not mean that he has a superior right on all this."¹⁰⁴ Or as an Arabic author informs Mazdak taught: "It is necessary to take away from the rich for the poor in order to make them equal in property."¹⁰⁵

Murder, including killing of animals, was considered as the greatest evil by the Mazdakits. The Mazdak teaching justified bloodshed and murder only as means to provide victory of the good against the evil. The demands of just distribution of earthly goods and destruction of inequality helped to spread the Mazdak teaching among the peasants in the commune.

The great poet Firdausi in his poem *Shah-nama* conveys the words of Mazdak thus:

He who is wealthy and powerful
Is not above the one born destitute
In luxury and riches lies a pledge
The poor is the basis — the rich only a layer
And equality must prevail on earth
Living in excess is sinful, not commendable.¹⁰⁶

The preachings of Mazdak had a big success. According to Tabari, "The common people used this convenient moment and joined Mazdak and his followers and united around them". As Biruni writes, "large number of people followed him".¹⁰⁷ The movement of Mazdakits in the capital of Iran resulted in the looting of grain godowns of the rich people and aristocrats by the hungry masses. For a short period the uprising spread all over the country. Mazdak expropriated the property of the rich and distributed it among the poor. Many big landowners of Iran were killed; a large number of them fled to the neighbouring states.

Shah Kubad I, fearing for his life and also trying to strengthen the central power by means of weakening of local rulers and the

104. Shmidt A. Ye., 1958, pp. 450-451.

105. Cited by Pigulevskaya N.V., 1956a, p. 296.

106. For Russian translation see "Vostok" II, p. 152.

107. Shmidt A. Ae, 1958, p. 451, 490; Biruni, 1957, p. 213.

biggest representatives of the aristocracy, declared himself a follower of the teachings of Mazdak. The motives of this action of Kubad are explained by historians differently. A. Shmidt and T.H. Noldeke, following the medieval authors, thought that Kubad decided not to oppose the Mazdaki movement, hoping to direct it into a channel serving his self-interest — for struggle against the aristocracy and the clergy closely linked with it.¹⁰⁸ Many contemporary scholars share this view.¹⁰⁹ A. Kristensen, on the contrary, thinks that Kubad himself had candidly joined Mazdak becoming a faithful follower of his teachings. Most of the Soviet scholars thought that A. Kristensen was not right. Political calculation, and not sympathy for the Mazdakits and common people, was the real motive force for Kubad.¹¹⁰

Shah Kubad was removed by the aristocracy and put in prison (496 A.D.). His brother who was to implement the will of the aristocracy was placed on the throne. But Kubad succeeded in fleeing and going over to the Ephtalites. The king of the Ephtalites was married to his sister. There he married the daughter of the Ephtalite King. Ieshu Stilit (Ss 24) narrates the following incident: "He [Kubad] got emboldened by his becoming related to the king and crying before him everyday for helping him with troops to remove the aristocracy and regain his power in his state. His father-in-law provided him with sufficient troops at his request. When he reached the Persian border his brother fled on hearing this news and Kubad fulfilled his wish by executing the nobility."¹¹¹

108. Noldeke T.H., 1879, pp. 142-143, 461.

109. See for example: Frye R.N., 1963, p. 212.

110. S.P. Tolstov put forth the following concept: Kubad in his youth was left by his father Peroz as a hostage with the Ephtalites. From this fact, which is confirmed by the sources, he draws the conclusion that the agreement of Kubad with Mazdakits was motivated "by his acquaintance with the Ephtalite orders: the commune — clan traditions of the Ephtalite social structure are close to the slogans of the Mazdakit movement, and Kubad in realization of these slogans could see the way to the strengthening of the weakening unity of the Sasanid empire on the model of the young barbarian power of the "White Huns" (Tolstov S.P., 1948b, p. 216). But the Ephtalites were not at all at the level of the primitive commune society. They had a long standing property and social differentiation.

111. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1940, p. 136.

Thus in 499 A.D. Kubad I with the help of the Ephtalite troops again ascended the throne and repressed the aristocrats who had opposed him.

After coming again to power and with the help of the Ephtalites and regaining his authority, his relations with the Mazdakits gradually changed; first covertly and later overtly, he started fighting the followers of Mazdak as they were now his sworn enemies. In 528 and 529 A.D. treacherously murdering Mazdak, Kubad also eliminated other leaders of the movement. Then began a barbaric all-round annihilation of the followers of Mazdak.

The most important reason for the defeat of the Mazdakits was the fact that feudal relations, against which the Mazdakits fought, presented at that time a historically necessary stage of development whereas the slogan of the restoration of the commune equality under those circumstances meant a return to the decadent and outdated form of the commune-clan society.

However, the Mazdak uprising had an objectively progressive character as it roused the people for struggle against exploitation and oppression. The ideas of Mazdak greatly influenced the impoverished strata of the people and became widespread in Central Asia where at this time the process of feudalization had also started.

Soon after the collapse of the Mazdakit movement the feudal relations in Iran were strengthened by several reforms introduced by the son of Kubad I — Khosrov I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.) who was an irreconcilable opponent of Mazdak and the Mazdakits.

Chapter 9

Peoples of Central Asia in 6th- Beginning of 8th Century

1. The Main Events of Political History

Class Struggle — the Turk Kaganate and the Expansion of its Power over Central Asia.

In the 6th century, far away from the borders of Central Asia, on the Altai — a state formation — the Turkic Kaganate (551-744 A.D.) was taking place which later was to play a significant role in the history of Central Asia. The Turks are known in the written sources, under different though similar names. The Chinese called them Tutsziuye (presumably ancient sound *t'u t kiwat*), which must have reflected the name Turks in the language of the Mongol-speaking Zhuzhan — *Tiurkiut*. The Turks, judging by their inscriptions, called themselves *Tiurk*, the Sogdians and Persian called them *Turk*. The meaning of this ethnonym is interpreted differently by different scholars.¹

The Turk ruler Bumin first subjugated the tribes of Tele and later having become stronger, started war with the tribal union of Zhuzhans who earlier dominated the Turks. Having conquered the Zhuzhans the Turks formed a mighty state in Mongolia and the Altai. The further territorial expansion of the state took place during the rule of one of the successors of Bumin — Kagan Mukhan (553-572 A.D.). The military campaign to the west was headed by his brother Istemi. In 555 A.D. he reached the "Western Sea" (perhaps the Aral Sea). The large inscription of Kul-tegin informs that "upto Temir-Kapig they (Mukhan and Istemi —

1. Konov A.N., 1949, pp. 40-47; Klyashtornii S.G., 1964, pp. 18-19.

B.G.) settled their people.² Temir-Kapig ("the iron gate"), the name which was used in medieval times for the mountain pass leading from Sogd to Tokharistan was located in Baisun mountains. The Turk contingents reached the borders of Iran, on the west they came upto the Black Sea and captured Bospor Kimmeriiskii. A huge nomadic empire was formed which stretched from Korea to the Black Sea. China became a factual vassal of the Turks and paid them a colossal annual tribute. Iran and Byzantine — two other largest world powers of their times also trembled before this superpower".

But this huge Turk empire was not destined to remain united. The internecine wars began and at the very beginning of the 7th century (in 600-603 A.D.). The Kaganate disintegrated into two parts — the Eastern Turk and Western Turk (the latter included Central Asia also). In 630-682 A.D. the Eastern Turk Kaganate was extremely weakened, it actually ceased to exist. At the end of 7th century, after the struggle with China, the second Eastern Turk Kaganate came into existence. It quickly gained strength. This state particularly became powerful during Mochzho otherwise called Kapagankagan (691-716 A.D.). Again the Turk banners flew over the walls of Beijing. The armies of Kapagankagan crossed over the river Huanhe. The Turks ruled over northern China, killing and taking away, to the steppes, dozens and hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants and huge riches. Military campaigns to the west in Central Asia were also undertaken.

The political domination of the Turks in Central Asia was ended by the Arabs at the end of the 7th and middle of the 8th century who subjugated the main territories of Central Asia.

Turks and Ephtalites

During their first intrusions into Central Asia the Turks had to clash with the Ephtalites. This clash became inevitable when the intentions of the Turk Kaganate to gain hegemony over Central Asia became clear. The position of the Ephtalites was even more difficult as they found themselves between two fires — the Turks

2. Malov S. Ye., 1951, p. 36.

and Sasanid Iran. It was at this time, during the rule of Khosrov I Anushirvan (531-579 A.D.), that Iran consolidated itself and strengthened its military power. It stopped paying tribute to the Ephtalites.³

In the 50s of the 6th century the Turks clashed with the Ephtalites in the northern part of Central Asia. The Ephtalites perhaps did not suspect that they were going to face a powerful enemy. The leader of the Ephtalite tried to launch an offensive against the Turks but he was stopped by his adviser Katulf who told him that the Ephtalites are more powerful within the borders of their homeland than on the alien territory (Menandr fr. 10). The war dragged on for a long period, perhaps with intervals. The leader of the Turks, Silzibil, threatened Avars that he would crush his other enemies after the end of the war with the Ephtalites (Menandr fr. 10).

Khosrov I and the Turks entered into diplomatic relations with each other. An alliance was planned. Its aim was to crush the Ephtalites. A more detailed description of the event is given by Firdausi. The Kagan of Turks sent envoys to Khosrov I Anushirvan. The envoys had to cross the territory of Sogd towards the bank of Jeihun (Amu Daria). Though all these regions were seized by Haital, *i.e.*, the Ephtalite troops. The king of Haital, Gatifar, in order not to let the friendship and alliance between Hakan and the Shah of Iran materialize, ordered the murder of the envoys. Only one of them escaped and brought information to the Kagan. "His heart (Kagan's) was full of pain and his mind was full of revenge." He collected a large army and advanced towards Haitals. First he seized Chach, the province of Parak (Chirchik) and then came up to the river (Gulzarriyun (Syr Daria).

Meanwhile Gatifar was amassing troops. The troops from Balkh, Shugnan, Khuttalian, Vashgird (the region of southern Tajikistan), Termez, Amul and Zemm were brought to the region of Bukhara. A decisive battle took place in the region of Bukhara.

Bukhara was full of clubs and maces.

Because it was the camp of the army of the Shah of Haitals,
Lo! here Gatifar starts moving with troops like mountain,
Having gathered around the hordes of Haitals,

3. D'iakonov M.M., 1961, pp. 309-315, 321.

From all corners the troops rush to battle,
So overcrowded it was that even wind could not pass.

The battle continued for eight days. The Ephtalites were defeated. Their troops fled to the south where the new king Faganish, the ruler of Chaganian was selected. But at this time Khosrov I attacked. Faganish recognized his power and the Shah of Iran and the Kagan of Turks started negotiations.⁴

The account by Tabari is extremely brief. "The most powerful, brave and strong among the Turks was Kagan Sinjibu, and he had more troops than others; it was he who started battle with V.r.z., the king of the Ephtalites, not fearing their large numbers and strength, killed their king V.r.z. and all his army, seized their riches and country with the exception of that part which was earlier conquered by Khosrov I." According to Dinaberi in the beginning Khosrov I "sent his troops to the country of the Ephtalites and conquered Tokharistan, Zabulistan, Kabulistan and Chaganian. Then the king of the Turks, Kagan Sinjibu collected his people and marched against the land of Khorasan; he seized Chach, Fergana, Samarkand, Kesh and Nesef and reached upto Bukhara itself."⁵ Thus each of the allies wanted to inflict the blow first. Perhaps, the Ephtalites had to fight two mighty enemies simultaneously. So far as the names are concerned, Sandzhby of Arab authors is undoubtedly identical to Silzibuly of the Byzantian sources⁶ and the name of the king of the Ephtalites, T. Noldeke suggests to read it as Varz;⁷ a name of Iranian origin meaning "wild boar". Such a title ("Varaz") was borne by the Eastern Iranian rulers, for example, of Merv, Heart, Garchistan, Nisa.⁸ Not excluded is the other interpretation of this name — "high" (see Sogdian Varz).

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4. Mohl J., 1866, VI, pp. 308-316; Firdausi, 1966, pp. 220-227. For Russian translation and interpretation of geographical names of this excerpt, see, Ptitsin G.V., 1947, pp. 297-309.
 5. Nöldeke T., 1879, pp. 158-159; Shmidt E.A., 1958, p. 453.
 6. Nöldeke T., 1879, p. 158, Anm. 2; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 226. About the initial Turk form of this name see, Moravcsik G., 1958, pp. 275-276.
 7. Nöldeke T., 1879, p. 159.
 8. Maenchen-Helfen O., 1959.



Costumes of the Turk Tribes 10th-11th Centuries

1. On the wall painting from Khodzho
2. From the painting of Li-Lui-myanya

Having studied the sources in detail E. Chavannes thinks that the defeat of the Ephtalites by the Turks took place somewhere in between 563 and 567 A.D.⁹; according to A.M. Mandelshtam nearer to the beginning of this stretch of time may be in 563 A.D.¹⁰; G. Moravesik prefers it "around 560 A.D."¹¹

As a result of these military actions which spread perhaps over a considerable part of Central Asia, the inhabitants of cities and settlements suffered. Firdausi writes about it: "In Chach, Terek (*i.e.*, Parak — Chirchik — B.G.), Samarkand and Sogd many places were ruined and became like the place inhabited by owls. For the inhabitants of Chaganyan, Bami (*i.e.* Bamian — B.G.), Khutlan and Balkh — for all of them the dark and bitter days have come."¹²

Misunderstandings began between the allies which resulted in a rift; each side perhaps wanted to take more advantage from the prevailing situation. According to Tabari the Turks manifested aggressive intentions and demanded that Iran pay them the tribute which it once paid to the Ephtalites. On the contrary, Dinaveri informs that Khosrov I came to know that the Turks had reached up to Bukhara, Kesh and Nesef. He sent the troops against them which were led by his inheritor but the Turks did not fight and retreated. All these regions came into the hands of the Sasanids. This information of Dinaveri, as T. Nöldeke noted, did not correspond with other sources and in fact these regions in the centre of Maverannahr remained in the hands of the Turks,¹³ but between the new found allies friction started immediately.

The tension in the relations of Turks with Iran was to the advantage of the Ephtalites. The southern-most regions of Central Asia, of contemporary Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia happened to be in the sphere of influence of the Sasanid Iran, the more northern regions remained under the supreme power of the

9. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 226.

10. ITN, II, p. 43.

11. Moravesik G., 1958, I, p. 76.

12. Mohl J., 1866, VI, p. 354; Firdausi, 1966, pp. 264-265. For the Russian translation of this excerpt, see: Belenitskii A.M., 1950a, p. 112.

13. Nöldeke T., 1879, p. 159, Anm. I.

Turks. There were of course no strictly established borders and the adjacent regions (districts) had to send tributes simultaneously to the two addresses. The Ephtalites who remained in the valley of Zeravshan paid tribute to the Turks (Menandr fr. 18). The southern part of Central Asian Ephtalites continued, perhaps for some time to form a semi-independent kingdom. However, as Masudi informs, Khosrov I apparently under some pretext intruded into regions lying beyond the “river Balkh”, *i.e.*, Amu Daria and reached Khuttalian. The Ephtalite king (he is called Ahshunvar, but perhaps it is a title and not a personal name), was murdered and his kingdom was annexed by Khosrov I.¹⁴

Thus the Ephtalite state ceased to exist. It has been said that: “After this *Tukuestsy* (Turks — B.G.) ruined the kingdom of Ieda (Ephtalites — B.G.) and the generations dissipated...”¹⁵

Turk-Sasanid Conflict Economy and Politics

Directly after the defeat of the Ephtalite state the conflict between the former allies took place. Soon it intensified not as a result of political ambitions of the conflicting sides but as a result of contradictions in their economic interests.

As is known already, in the Kushan period the trade routes, particularly the “Silk” Route, passed through middle Asia which linked Central Asia with Rome. Later the seri-culture and the production of silk began in Middle Asia itself. The West had no silk production of its own and the Byzantine as well as the Roman empire were dependent on the import of silk from Middle and Central Asia, the Persian traders playing the role of the intermediary. Attempts of the Byzantiniens to get silk from India, bypassing the Persians, were met with opposition from Iran and on the whole proved to be ineffective. The Persians who earned large profits from their intermediary trade tried from one side not to allow direct link of the Byzantiniens with the suppliers of raw silk and from the other they inflated its price. The policy of the Byzantinian government, which controlled the price of silk did not

14. Altheim F., 1960, pp. 57-58.

15. Bichurin, II, p. 269; see also Miller R.A., 1959, p. 12.

yield results. In the middle of the 6th century the eggs of silk-spinning worms¹⁶ for the development of its own silk production were required.

The Sogdians who themselves started producing silk fabrics and who had direct contact with the suppliers of raw silk were more interested in normalising the Middle Asian — Byzantinian silk trade. The most suitable was the route through Iran. But it was here that the interests of the Persian and Middle Asian traders clashed.

During the normal or may be alliance-like relations between the Turks and Iran on the initiative of Sogdians it was decided to send a mission to Iran, with the purpose of reaching an agreement about the possibility of transiting silk into the Byzantine or at least selling silk to the Persians. At the head of the mission was Maniah — “the head of the Sogdians. Menandr (fr. 18) also informs that the Turk Kagan allowed the Sogdians themselves to “send the “mission”. This proves that the Turks did not liquidate Sogd as a state but only subjugated it. Such an action undoubtedly reflected the real political situation in the Middle Asia — here we fully agree with N.V. Pigulevskaya,¹⁷ who is criticised by L.N. Gumilev without any ground.¹⁸ But he and other scholars also are right in other aspects:¹⁹ it is wrong to project as if the Turks were “indifferent to large exchange of trade” as N.V. Pigulevskaya writes. Factually speaking, the Turk aristocracy had become “mature” to understand the benefits, which development of large international, particularly silk trade, was to bring. That is why the initiative of the Sogdians was met with a warm welcome from the Turk Kagan.

16. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1947, pp. 184-196, 1951, pp. 83-95, 184 onwards.

17. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1951, p. 203.

18. L.N. Gumilev (1967a, p. 46) thinks that the despatch of the mission in the name of the Sogdians is explained by the fact that “they took upon themselves the conducting of negotiations hoping to tackle a deal better than the Turkyat Begs who were not adept at diplomacy.” However, if the Kagan did not trust the diplomatic skills of his co-tribesmen he could have found some other way out, for example, to include in the mission skillful Sogdian diplomats and send the mission in his name. In reality the mission was sent with his consent by the Sogdians, themselves.

19. ITN, II, 1, p. 46.

The mission of Maniah failed completely: after long delays on the pretext of the undesirability of the Turks to be allowed in Persia. Khosrov I rejected the request of the mission. An adviser of the Shah, Ephtalite Katulf, who had fled to Iran after the defeat suffered by the Ephtalites at the hands of the Turks, was one who in particular, strongly opposed the Sogdians. On his advice the Shah bought the silk brought by the Sogdians and then ordered to burn it in their presence. As N.V. Pigulevskaya rightly emphasizes, by this action the Persians gave them to understand that they do not need the Sogdian goods because the silk belonged to the Turks.”²⁰

When the Kagan came to know about this, he decided to send another mission, this time from his side and included only the Turks in the mission. This sort of persistence in sending a second mission notwithstanding complete failure of the first shows that “higher political” interests were present. Perhaps the Turks wanted to know whether the Sasanid Iran desired to have peace and friendship with them or else they were to make preparations for war. The rejection of the first mission by the Persians could have been interpreted also as their unwillingness to conduct negotiations with a vassal states. Whether or not the Shah of Iran will decline the request of his recent ally the powerful Kagan. The answer was quite clear: from the entire mission, only a few persons returned, the rest perished in Persia; although the Persians justified themselves it was clear that the envoys were poisoned. All this made relations tense between Iran and the Turks. It had become clear to both sides that it was necessary to prepare for the war because it was inevitable.

Thereafter the government of the Kaganate intended to establish political contacts with longstanding enemy of the Sasanid State — Byzantine empire. This way the question of selling silk could be solved, which so much agitated the Turk and Sogdian aristocracy, and which had not moved away from a stalemate. Again, at the head of the mission to Byzantine was the Sogdian Maniah. He had with him the requisite letters and many gifts “made from silk of great value”. Naturally the mission could

20. Pigulevskaya N.V., 1951, p. 203.

not move through Iran. Hence another route was chosen; along the northern coast of the Caspian and through Caucasia.

Having arrived in Byzantine, the mission handed over to the Emperor the gifts and the letter written as the Byzantines thought in the "Scythian script" (more likely Sogdian script). A treaty was signed which had a military character and was aimed at Iran. The mission returned in the same year (568 A.D.). The Byzantines sent a return mission headed by Zemarh. The military-political alliance of the Turks and the Byzantines became an accomplished fact. After the first other missions followed.²¹

The available sources inform that in 581 A.D. Khotan, Persia and Ephtalites rebelled against the Turks.²² There is no clarity about the kind of Ephtalites they were. It is unlikely that mentioning Khotan and Persia, the source would indicate to some small rebellion; probably it was even on a large scale, perhaps at this time soon after the death of Khosrov I Anushirvan (579 A.D.). The Turks keeping in mind the unstable situation in Iran decided to annex the buffer Ephtalite state which had survived in Tokharistan and possibly at the end of the 70s and beginning of the 80s of the 6th century, became independent.²³ However, in the war in the south the Turks had to clash with the Ephtalite as well as Iranian troops. Judging by the later information the victory of the Turks was only partial: their supreme power was compelled to recognize the Ephtalites of the right bank of Tokharistan; as to the Ephtalites of the left bank they remained independent.

Several years passed and in 588 A.D. the Turks led by Saave (or Shaba) intruded into the territory of the Sasanid state. Against them was the talented military commander Bahrain Chubin. His popularity in his life-time and after his death was very high. There

21. A more detailed and competent analysis of Byzantine-Turk's mutual relation is contained in the works of N.V. Pigulevskaya; among the latest work (with analysis of Byzantine sources and detailed bibliography) see: Moravcsik G., Vols I-II, 1958

22. ITN, II, p. 43.

23. Mandelstain A.M., 1957, p. 133.

was a novel in the Pahelvian literature glorifying his deeds. He was mentioned many times in the different sources of the period. All these references are now lost, their information was reflected in the works of Firdausi and Arab historians. However, the main chain of events is beyond doubt. The army of the Turks forced attack across the Amu Daria, seizing the entire Tokharistan (northern and southern) it advanced to the west and reached Herat. During the battle Bahram Chubin along with select troops forced his way into the headquarter of the Turk military Commander. According to Dinaveri "On seeing this the king of the Turks ordered to bring his horse and stood before Bahram; Bahram shot an arrow towards him which pierced through him, he fell down on the ground and the Turks took to heels."²⁴ Later Barmuda (according to other sources) Yeltegin the son of the killed Turk ruler gathered a new army including in it also the contingents of earlier defeated troops. The following events are known in two versions. According to one version the Persians crossed the Amu Daria and for the second time crushed the Turks; according to the other version, on the bank of Amu Daria in the region of Termez a peace treaty was signed.²⁵

Along with this there exists one more version which belongs to the Armenian priest Sebeos, author of a valuable historical work. This version deserves greater attention and trust because Sebeos in his young age had served in the Sasanid court and heard there the stories about these events. According to him Bahram Chubin defeated the Tetals (Ephtalites — B.G.), forcibly seized Balkh and the entire country of the Kushans upto the other side of the great river under the name Vehrod (Amu Daria — B.G.). Bahram at that time was at war with the great king of Maskuts who lived on the other side of the great river. He defeated his large troops, killed the king in the battle, seized and took away the entire treasury of this kingdom."²⁶ This information, which was

24. Shmidt A.E., 1958, p. 480. For Tabari's account see: Nöldeke T., 1879, pp. 270-272.

25. About the sources see: Nöldeke T., 1879, pp. 272, 474-478; Altheim F., 1962, p. 234. For a detailed account of events see Gumilev L.N., 1967a, pp. 126-132; 1960a, pp. 64-74.

26. Trever K.V., 1954, p. 140.

many times disputed in the special literature (particularly in detail by I. Marquart), is extremely important in so far as it clearly shows that the Turks fought against the Sasanid Iran in alliance with the Ephtalites living in northern Afghanistan.

In the beginning of the 7th century in 616-617 A.D. Iran once again made an attempt to crush the Ephtalites and their suzerains, Turks. The Iranian military commander Smbat Bagratuni undertook two military marches on the right bank of Tokharistan where there were several Ephtalite Kingdoms which were subordinated to the Balkh ruler and were under the supreme power of the Turks. According to Sebeos the Ephtalites lived at that time in the region of Herat, Badgis, Talikan and Balkh. Although the Iranian military commander won the battle and seized a large booty²⁷, these regions were not under the Sasanid government. Soon the Turks succeeded in driving away the Sasanid troops from here.

Mutual Relations of Turk Kaganate with Local Rulers Central Asian-Turk Synthesis

The initial policy of the Turks who seized Central Asia was no different from the policy of the Ephtalites²⁸ — they levied tribute on local rulers, the former dynasties were preserved, the rules and laws existing in these kingdoms also did not change. Of course, they had to support their suzerain in case of military threat. But the situation changed gradually. The Turks worked out a system of administration in the Central Asian states. From outside, they grew into active participant in the Central Asian life. The greedy Turk aristocracy started asking a question: why only a part and not the whole riches taken out of their population comes to them? In 605 A.D. the Turks killed the ruler of the Chach province and put in his place Turk Dele.²⁹

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

28. It is difficult to agree with S.P. Tolstov who contrasts the policy of Turk rulers in Central Asia against the policy of the Ephtalites. He bases his view on the fact that the Ephtalite depended on the support of the popular masses struggling against growing feudal elements." (Tolstov S.P., 1948d, p. 278) However, there is no serious basis for such a statement.

29. Bichurin, II, p. 313.

During the rule of Western Turk Kagan Tun-shehu a reform was announced: in 618 A.D. he decided to make the local rulers his vice-regents giving them corresponding titles. For control over them he appointed his representatives who were also to collect the taxes.³⁰ Could he really implement his reform? In any case, it was an attempt to organize in the place of scattered independent states a sort of single state formation. Tun-shehu (618-630 A.D.) had a serious and extremely real argument with the mighty military power. He was himself, as a source informs, "brave and had the ability to comprehend, his every battle ended in victory."³¹ As a result during his rule some of the stubborn Central Asian rulers were subjugated by the Turks. Along with force he also used diplomacy. He married his daughter off to the most powerful ruler of Samarkand.³² Tun-shehu came to help the Ephtalite during the military campaigns against them by Iranian military commander Smbat Bagratun. Later, when the military commander himself retreated to Iran with his main troops. The Turk troops crossed Amu Daria and drove away the Iranian troops. The entire Tokharistan was freed from the yoke of the Sasanids. By this the phrase that Tun-shehu "defeated Persia" is explained. It is also said that he "subdued Gibin"³³, *i.e.*, southern Afghanistan and north-western part of contemporary Pakistan happened to be under the power of the Turks or in any case in some way dependent on them.³⁴

After the death of Tun-shehu (630 A.D.) the situation in the western Turk Kaganate became shaky. Disturbances and infighting between the representatives of higher aristocracy had their impact on the agricultural regions of Central Asia. Raids and pillaging expeditions became quite frequent. For example the ruler of Fargana was killed and in northern Fargana the Turk vice-regents established themselves.

30. *Ibid*, I, p. 283.

31. *Ibid*.

32. Bichurin, II, p. 311; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 24, 135.

33. *Ibid*, I, p. 283.

34. This is derived from the translation of E. Chavannes which slightly differs from that by Bichurin (Chavannes E., 1903, p. 24).

Internal and external political causes led first to the disintegration of the Western Turk Kaganate followed by its complete collapse. At the same time it is necessary to note that the groups of Turk population penetrated into the oases; a part of them settled, others were engaged in cattle-breeding on the outskirts of the oases; the Turk population appeared in cities also; many kingdoms continued to be ruled by dynasties of Turks or of mixed origin. In history mixed marriages are recorded in the source material.

The Turk contribution to the character of the Central Asian crafts was quite significant. As archaeological material shows, Turks had highly developed craft production even before coming to the Central Asia. Their metallic craft and particularly jewellery, weaponry and ornaments were of a high quality and were marked by great peculiarity. Under the influence of the Turks on the basis of local prototypes the formation of some specific forms of Sogdian and Fargana ceramics took place as splendid clay mugs³⁵, etc. Turkish element firmly entered the composition of the Central Asian society of the 7th-8th centuries. As a result the Central Asian military sphere received a great impetus through enrichment of weaponry and also tactical uses introduced by the Turks. The Turk influence on various sides of life was quite significant: in works of art of that period, the Turks' influence was deeply reflected, often the mutual interaction of the Turk folk poetry and epics and literature of the settled Central Asian peoples took place.³⁶ The Turks, who came to Central Asia, took an active part in the religious life and in the generation of cultural values and were along with the original inhabitants the creators of the cultural fund which is the common property of the Central Asian peoples. During the period under study a synthesis of traditions, religions, rites and cultures of the Iranian-speaking and Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia not only started but continued further.

35. Marshk B.I., 1961.

36. Bertels E., 1960, pp. 84-87; Stebleva I.V., 1965, pp. 65-68.

The Abrui Movement

The condition of the toiling population was very difficult.³⁷ In this connection the data about the movement led by Abrui is of extraordinary interest. They are based on excerpts from the book authored by Abd-ar-Rahman Muhammad Nishapuri (11th century) titled "*Khazinatal-ulum*" ("The Treasure of Science") included in the "History of Bukhara" by Narshahi in its later revision. According to Narshahi, Nishapuri wrote that in the ancient times people settled in the Bukhara region. "People started coming from all sides and became happy here. Some people came from Turkestan because here there was plenty of water, many trees and plenty of hunting. They liked this region and they settled here. In the beginning they put up tents and *yurtas* living in them. But later when more people gathered they constructed houses. When the population rose they selected one whom they made an Amir. His name was Abrui". The king himself lived in Paikend and the city was called Kala-i-Debusi. "After some time when the power of Abrui strengthened, he started ruling so harshly that the inhabitants of the region could not live here. The *dehkans* and the rich merchants went away from this region and moved to Turkestan and Taraz where they built a city. They called the city Khamukat because the leader of the group of the immigrants was called Khamuk... Then those people who stayed back in Bukhara sent a man to their noblemen and asked for help against oppression of Abrui. These noblemen and *dehkans* appealed to the ruler of the Turks who was called Kara-Churin-Turk..." He sent his son Siri-Kishvar along with a large army. He arrived in Bukhara and captured Abrui in Paikend. Siri-Kishvar "ordered to

37. L.N. Gumilev writes: "The Sogdian *dehkans* and merchants received so many good things from the western Tiurkiut (western Turkic — B.G.) Khans that they became a strong support for the throne". describing further the economic and cultural progress of Central Asia in the 7th century, he draws a conclusion: But all this well-being was the result of the subjugation of the Sogdians by Tiurkiut Khan". (Gumilev L.N., 1967a, p. 152) . The paradox of this conclusion is their complete variance with facts. L.N. Gumilev deviates from the data provided by historical sources, forgetting at the same time about the need to take a class approach to the analysis of the historical phenomena.

fill up the big sack with red bees and put Abrui in it and kept him in it until he died." Afterwards Siri-Kishvar became the ruler of the Bukhara region and invited the fugitives to come back as "the rich people and the great *dehkans* had fled and the poor and small were left. When this group [of fugitives] returned, the people who remained in Bukhara became their servants. Among the noblemen was a great *dehkan* who was called *Bukhar-khudat*. He belonged to the old *dehkan* clan and had more lands [than the other *dehkans* had]. The majority of the poor people were his servants."³⁸

Thus information was studied by scholars many times. Initially there was a thinking that the entire account is nothing but a legend, possibly a reflection of the personification of the river Zeravshan or this is an echo of the ancient tales about the settlement of the Zeravshan valley.

E. Zahau and K.A. Inostrantsev, who were great specialists on ancient history of Central Asia, viewed the above-mentioned account exactly in this aspect. For the first time I. Marquart in several of his works³⁹ put forward the idea that real historical events are reflected in this account. Moreover, he proved that the question about the events related to the Turk-Ephtalite struggle for Sogd, about the events of the 60's of the 6th century. On the basis of several comparisons he reached the conclusion that Abrui (Abrazi) is identical with the last king of the Ephtalites.

S.P. Tolstov has come out with an interesting hypothesis. According to him these events took place at the end of the 80s of the 6th century and were connected with the crisis and strifes in the Turk Kaganate, which resulted in a massive influx of immigrants-Turks into the Bukharan oasis. He offers the comparison of the famous characters in the narration of Nishapuri with the synchronic events of the sources and the real persons of the Kaganate.⁴⁰ However, in the reconstructions by both S.P.

38. This translation takes into account the edition of Sh. Shefer 1892, the Tehran edition of 1939 and the new Bukharan lithography of 1904. There is a Russian translation (Narshahi, 1897, pp. 12-13) and English ("The History of Bukhara", 1954, pp. 6-8).

39. Marquart I., 1901, p. 309; 1938, pp. 147-148.

40. Tolstov S.P., 1948a, p. 248 onwards.

Tolstov and I. Marquart there are vulnerable places and his (Tolstov's) hypothesis cannot be taken as proven, notwithstanding all its attraction. It cannot be excluded that these events took place sometime later in the 90s.⁴¹

While we cannot share the interpretation of the events given by S.P. Tolstov, it is possible to agree with his conclusion that this movement had a clearly expressed social colouring. In this struggle, as it is always and everywhere, the main thing was not the ethnic origin. The common Turk immigrants, settling or already settled on the land, were in one camp with the Sogdian poor, and on the contrary the Sogdian nobility acted unitedly with the aristocracy of the Kaganate. Thus judging by the information of Nishapuri and other data it can be said that Central Asia was then an arena of fierce class struggle, taking place because of the attempts of the *dehkans* to enslave the free communards.

2. Tokharistan in VI and Beginning of VIII Century

Data in the sources on the condition in Tokharistan in 6th and beginning of 8th century

The name Tokharistan first time appeared in a translated work completed in 383 A.D.⁴² The Chinese sources call this country Tukholo (T'ou-ho-lo) or (T'ou-hou-lo).⁴³

The territory of Tokharistan included the present southern Tajikistan, Surhan Daria region of the Uzbek Republic and northern regions of Afghanistan. Actually the early medieval Tokharistan, to a significant extent, territory-wise corresponded to ancient Bactria.

The political history of Tokharistan, in the 6th-7th centuries, was very stormy. The buffer state of the Ephtalites, struggle with the Turks and their subsequent domination, the intrusions of Sasanid troops, internal rebellions and wars — all these made the history of Tokharistan extremely complex. It is necessary to note

41. Mandalshtam A.M., 1964, p. 48.

42. Muller T.W.K., 1918, p. 575.

43. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 155.

that we know more or less in detail the external background of history of Tokharistan. But this is actually only a chapter of the work on Tokharistan's history. Its internal content, events which took place in separate regions are almost unknown to us because the sources highlight this history very scantily. Numismatic materials can add a lot: during excavations at Ajina-tepe and Kafir-kala were found a large series of coins of the local Tokharistan mint. However, their deciphering is not complete yet.

Let us give several accounts of the sources regarding Tokharistan. The traveller Son-Yu (519 A.D.) had been to Bo-kho (Wakhan). He wrote that "the mountains here are extremely high, and gorges very deep. The king of this country lives in the city built by him. The dresses of the people are beautiful; part of them are made of leather. The climate is extremely cold, the common people use caves as dwelling places. Snow storms are particularly noticeable. To the south of this country there are great snow-clad mountains".

Passing further he reached towards the west. He reached the country of Ye-da — the Ephtalites of the present Badakhshan. About the country of the Ephtalites he informs that its provinces are abundant in mountain streams which flow in front of all dwellings and make this country fertile (The reference is perhaps about the mountain streams as well as irrigational canals). The people wear dresses made of animal skins, the aristocracy wears rich and complexly designed dresses (for example, the dress of the Ephtalite queen had a long trail which was carried by specially taught servants). In this country (particularly in the court of the Ephtalite king) there are large carpets. Valuable stones were in great abundance.⁴⁴ There were many horses and camels. The capital was the city of Badian⁴⁵ — it was perhaps an inaccurate rendering of Badakhshan. In the source related to 590 A.D. there is a mention of the kingdom of Bodochan. This was indisputably the name of Badakhshan.⁴⁶

44. Beal S., 1906, p. XCII-XCIII.

45. Bichurin, II, pp. 268-269.

46. Mandalshtam A.M., 1957, pp. 101-107.

To the beginning of the 7th century is related also the data of the dynastic chronicle of Suishu. It informs about Tukholo — Tokharistan — that its inhabitants are “mixed up” with the Ephtalites. It also says about “hundred thousand” infantrymen skillful in battles. It also contains information about polyandry.⁴⁷

A traveller of the 7th century, Huan-tsan (about 629-645 A.D.), describes Tokharistan on the whole and many kingdoms included in it, gives the sizes of these kingdoms and separate cities. He happened to visit Tokharistan, moving from the north and passing through the Iron Gate (in Baisun mountains). According to his data Tokharistan was three times bigger in length from the East to the West than from the North to the South. “The great river (here the Chinese name of the Amu Daria of that time is given) crosses the country in the western direction”. According to Huan-tsan the king’s clan of Tokharistan perished many years ago and several leaders forcibly established themselves in separate kingdoms. The country consists of 27 states in accordance with natural borders. All of them are dependent on the Turks. The climate is warm and moist. The inhabitants mostly wear clothes made from cotton, some made from wool. The language of the population to some extent is different than the languages of other countries. The main letters in their script are 25 in number (this Chinese traveller who was used to hieroglyphic script was surprised that all the subjects and ideas were expressed by a combination of these letters). Tokharistan people wrote across the page and read from left to right. Their literature has gradually increased and surpasses in volume what is in Sogd. In trade, they use gold and silver. The coins in their type are different from the coins of other countries.⁴⁸ Huan-tsan very briefly further describes the separate kingdoms included in Tokharistan. Among them *Dami* (Termez), *Chi-o-yan-na* (Chaganian region extended to the

47. Bichurin, II, p. 286.

48. Beal S., 1906, I. pp. 37-38; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 196. On the question about the script of Tokharistan we have dwelt upon in the previous chapter. We may only add that the author of 12th century, Samani, mentions about “letters which were there at the beginning of Islam, known and written in the books.” (Samani, 576b; Bartold V.V., 1964, p. 469).

north-eastern Surhan Daria valley and the west of Hissar valley). The size of the capital of Chaganian was two times less in circumference than the capital of Termez. There is a mention of the region *Shu-man*, i.e., in medieval times as this was the eastern and central part of the Hissar valley. In the 7th century perhaps it had a larger territory, extending to the south, perhaps along Kafirnigan. It is specially mentioned that the king of Shuman was a Turk. Shuman had a border with *Tszyui-khe-yan-na* (Kabadian) the capital of which was (the name is not given) approximately equal in its size with the capital of Chaganian. From the east to Kabadian the region *Ho-sha* (Wakhsh) was adjoining. This region stretched from the north to the south and its area was more than two times than the area from the east to the west. The capital in its size was like the capital of Termez. To the east of Wakhsh was situated the kingdom of *Ke-do-lo* (Khuttalian)⁴⁹; on the east it bordered the mountains of Tsunlin (Pamir), the country was quite bigger in size than all the previously mentioned kingdoms. The size of the capital was the same as of Termez.⁵⁰ In connection with Khuttalian it is necessary to speak about two regions. One of them Huan-tsan calls *O-li-na*. It is situated on both sides of river Pyndj, the main city was quite big. The other region is *Po-li-ho*. As the previous one, it is situated on the territory Tuholo. The main city is very big.⁵¹ S. Beal compares *Po-li-ho* with Parhar. On the map of Wuda (region of Kokchi).⁵² I. Marquart also considers this comparison indisputable.⁵³ A.M. Belinitskii pointed out the mistake of the latter and drew a correct conclusion that the reference is to Parhar situated on the right bank of Pyndj (the contemporary Parhar region of Tajikistan). So far as *O-li-na* is concerned, it is, without any doubt, Arhen of the medieval authors at that time also situated on the right bank.⁵⁴ Besides this, are mentioned the kingdoms of *Tszyui-mi-to* (Kumed, somewhere in

49. Bailey H.W., 1937, p. 887. 50. Beal S., 1906, I, pp. 38-41.

50. Beal S., 1906, I, pp. 38-41.

51. *Ibid.*, II, p. 289-290.

52. *Ibid.*, I, p. 42, n. 140; see also: Minaev I., 1879, p. 63.

53. Marquart I., 1901, p. 234.

54. Belinitskii A.M., 1950a, p. 110.

the region of Karategin, Darvaza and Wanch), *Shi-tsi-ni* (Shugnan), *Bobochuann* (Badakhshan) and *Damositedi* (Wakhan). The capital of the latter is given as Huntodo.⁵⁵ The tough nature of these regions is mentioned. Thus about Damositedi⁵⁶ it is written that this region cuts across the mountains of different heights and its surface is covered with sand and scattered stones. The cold winds blow fiercely. According to Huan-tsan, in Wakhan, a small quantity of wheat and lentils are sown, he particularly underlines the quality of the horses, not very large in size but quite hardy, easily bearing long journeys. The people wore woollen dresses.

In the description of Shugnan there is data about the harvest of wheat and lentils and a small quantity of rice. The dresses of Shugnanians were made of leather and wool. Here the same script as in Tokharistan, was used but the language was different.⁵⁷

Huan-tsan also describes the capital of Tokharistan, Po-ho, (Balkh) which was a heavily fortified city with small population and also other regions that were completely on the left bank of Tokharistan (on the territory of present northern Afghanistan).⁵⁸

According to Tan history, the source related to the second half of the 7th-beginning of 8th century, Tokharistanians lived together with the Ephtalites. They led a settled life.⁵⁹ In Shugnan the residence of the ruler was initially in the city of Kuhan, later on he started living in different mountainous valley. Thus, writes N. Ia. Bichurin.⁶⁰ A. Chavannes understood this text the same way.

55. About these identifications see: Mandalshtam A.M., 1957, p. 109 onwards.

56. The name Damositedi carries a Sanskrit appearance of analogical local name of Wakhan (Marquart I., 1901, p. 225). This hypothesis of I. Marquart looks extremely attractive. He presumed that Damositedi is the pronunciation of the Sanskrit term *Dharmasthiti* — “the place of presence of [Buddhist] law”. It is according to him not the real name of the country but its epithet. However, as I. Marquart continues, it is difficult to presume that the sparsely inhabited Buddhist monasteries of Wakhan were the reasons for naming it the citadel of Buddhism. More likely it is a Sanskrit — Buddhist equivalent as was noted by I. Marquart.

57. Beal S., 1906, pp. 291-296.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-48, II, pp. 285-292.

59. Bichurin, II, p. 231.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

"Initially the capital was situated in the Kuhan city, then the residents settled in the mountainous gorges." In five big valleys there are autonomous military commanders; altogether they are called "five Shins". According to this source land cultivation was absent.

On Wakhan, the Tan history mainly repeats the information given by Huan-tsan including about the blue eyes of its inhabitants, etc. However, the residence of the ruler is called differently than by the traveller. It is called Saigashen; to the north of this city was situated the river Uhu (Pyndj)⁶¹ I. Marquart in his times, taking into account the ancient name of this capital expressed an opinion that this was the name of Ishkashima⁶² and that the capital of Shugnan was at that time situated on the left bank. A. Chavannes⁶³, and the subsequent scholars, accepted this assumption which seems quite plausible.

There is also a description of Khuttalian which is described as a very large region. Its capital is called Sechu-kian. This was the residence of the ruler. In the country there are many excellent horses and red leopards (perhaps tigers or snow leopards). At last there is an information that there are four big salt mountains there.⁶⁴ Indeed, not far away from the regional centre Vose there is a huge salt mountain known now under the name of Khoja Mumin.

The other Buddhist pilgrim Hoichao who had been in Central Asia in 726 A.D. informs about Tokharistan: "The country was under the Arabs. The king fled from there and lived in Badakhshan. The language of the people is different from the language of other countries, only to some extent reminding the language of Kapisa. For the dresses they used furs and cotton material. In the country there are many camels, sheep, mules, horses, cotton plants and grape orchards. the favourite dish is dried up cookies. The men shave their heads and faces, the women on the contrary wear long hair. The king, nobility and the common

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 323-324; Chavannes E. 1903, pp. 162-165.

62. Marquart I., 1901, p. 224.

63. Chavannes A., 1901, p. 165, n.1.

64. Bichurin, I, p. 326.

people follow the Buddhist religion of the Hinyan school. There are many monasteries and monks.⁶⁵ In Tokharistan ten, five, three or two brothers together have one wife,⁶⁶ in these words there is an indication of the prevalence of polyandry. This tradition is linked with the settling here of the Ephtalites”.

In Khuttalian (its description given by Hoichao in some parts repeats the general description of Tokharistan) the king came from the tribes of the Turks, the half population in the country is Hu, *i.e.*, local and the other half are Turks. The country is under the rule of the Arabs. Some inhabitants speak the Tokharistan language, some of them Turkish and some local language. In Khuttalian there are camels, mules, sheep, horses, cattle and donkeys. Here cotton is grown. There are grape orchards and woollen fabrics are produced. The inhabitants wear the dresses made of cotton and fur. The men cut the hair on the head and shave their faces, ladies wear long hair. The king, aristocracy and people follow the teaching of Buddha of the Hinyan sect. There are monasteries and monks.

In Wakhan, the king is weak and is subordinate to the Arabs and annually pays them a tribute in silk. The Wakhanians live in mountainous valleys, their dwellings are small and congested. Some of them live in caves. There are many poor. They wear fur coats over which they wrap the felts and the king wears silk and cotton dresses. The language of the inhabitants is different from the language of other countries. They eat only baked bread and cookies made from flour. The country is extremely cold, much more than other countries. There are no trees and no plantation in the mountains. There are sheep and cattle (of a very small breed) and also horses and mules. About their religion the information is the same as in the section about Khuttalian.

The traveller also informs about “the nine kingdoms of “Shikinan” (Shugnan). In each of them there is a ruler who stays there with his troops. The king of the whole Shikinan is subordinate to the king of Wakhan. The country is very cold, lies between the snow-clad mountains. There are sheep, horses, cattle

65. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 449.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 452.

and donkeys. The king and the nobility wear the clothes made of cotton and also fur coats; the rest of the people wear the dresses made of fur and felt cloaks. The language of the inhabitants is different from the languages of other countries. In Shikinan the teachings of Buddha had not spread. There is also a saying that the king sends special troops to loot the caravans.⁶⁷

The Political History

We have narrated the seizure of Tokharistan by the western Turk Kaganate during the rule of Tun-shehu (died in 330 A.D.). Huan-tsan who had been to Tokharistan, soon after this met here the Turk vice-regent.⁶⁸ Judging by the Arabic-Persian sources he carried the title Jabui or Jabgui⁶⁹ i.e. Yagbu. The history of the kingdoms included in Tokharistan is briefly highlighted.

One of the most powerful kingdoms of Tokharistan was Khuttalian.⁷⁰ In it, at the threshold of the 7th-8th century was a local dynasty. One of its representatives was the king of Khuttalian whom Tabari calls Sabal.⁷¹ Perhaps this Arabic pronunciation of the Turkish name, which is known from other foreign language sources, as Shabolo.⁷² Hoichao who had visited Central Asia during the rule of as-Sabal directly writes that the king of Khuttalian belonged to the Turkic tribes.⁷³ He, as-Sabal ruled from the end of the 7th century upto the beginning of the 30s of the 8th century over Khuttalian. The Arabic sources call him a king. There existed a certain order of succession to the throne. Tabari puts in the mouth of as-Sabal the word about the necessity of following order of succession to the throne.⁷⁴

Although the dynasty itself was perhaps at that time of Turkic (or Turkicised) origin, its representatives carried the Iranian title of Khuttalian Shahs or Sheri-Khuttalian. In the Arabic sources they

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 452-453.

68. "The Life of Huan-tsang", 1959, pp. 48-49.

69. Marquart I., 1901, p. 69.

70. Staviskii B. Ia., 1957b, p. 89.

71. Tabari II, p. 1040 onwards, 1152 onwards, 1583.

72. Marquart I., 1901, p. 303.

73. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

74. Tabari, II, p. 1618. Russian translation Belanitskii A.M., 1950a, p. 115.

are usually called the kings (Maliks).⁷⁵ At the same time they were in vassal dependence of the all-Tokharistan rulers. In the reception of the Arabic vice-regent of Kuteiba, ibn-Muslim arrived the all-Tokharistan ruler and some rulers of lower rank, including as-Sabal. On seeing the Tokharistan ruler they asked permission to kiss his hand and to sit below him. One of the rulers declared: "although he is my enemy, yet he is senior to me. He is Malik king and I am like his slave."⁷⁶

The sources from the beginning of the 8th century inform that the king of Khuttalian can collect 50 thousand of infantry (as the rulers of such regions as Shuman, Kabadian, Shugnan and Wakhan).⁷⁷

The history of the succeeding rulers of Khuttalian has been studied by Marquart, particularly in detail by A.M. Belenitskii and O.I. Smirnova.⁷⁸ There is no sense in entering the details of the dynastic history of Khuttalian. More so, the agreement on the data of sources in different languages cannot be reached in full measure.

Information on the history of other kingdoms also. Extremely interesting is the inscription mentioned from Afrasiab about the arrival of the mission in Samarkand. The envoy announces that he has come from Turantash — "The ruler of Chaganian". V.A. Livshits who studied this inscription does not exclude the possibility of the Afrasiab wall paintings not being the documentary illustration the official history of the kings of Sogd which has not been preserved but is the reproduction of a folklore theme. In this case, the inscription cannot be taken as a source, adequately narrating the events. But even in this case, the inscription undoubtedly contains the reflection of real events which could have taken place in the second half of the 7th century.

75. Marquart I., 1901, p.301; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 160, Belenitskii A.M., 1950a, p. 117.

76. For more details see: Belenitskii A.M., 1950a, pp. 112-113.

77. Chavannes E., 1903, pp. 200-201; O.I. Smirnova, 1969, p. 218 wrongly writes "5,00,000".

78. Marquart I., 1901; Belenitskii A.M., 1950a; Smirnova I., 1969.

The sources indicate that the Ephtalites possessed Chaganian.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the 8th century, to be precise, in 719 A.D. the ruler of Chaganian was Tish the one-eyed; from the Arabic sources it is known that he was also the Yabgu of Tokharistan.⁸⁰ It is characteristic that his name is undoubtedly an Iranian one — thus in the Bactrian language the star of Cyrus.⁸¹ The rulers of Chaganian carried the title of “Chagan — khudat”.⁸²

On the whole Tokharistan was not centralized at all, in every kingdom there was its own ruler, dynastic succession and it was by itself a confederation of almost independent states. The level of their independence is testified by the fact that they despatched missions to neighbouring and extremely distant countries.

About the internal structure of these states practically nothing is known. On the analogy of Sogd it may be assumed that in Tokharistan there was a developed administrative machine. The Chaganian envoy in the Sogdian inscription from Afrasiab carries the name “dapirpat” (literally the “head of the scribes”) the “chief of the office”. However, it is not excluded that in reality the envoy occupied a much higher post, for example, of the vazir.⁸³

Irrigation-Agriculture

The main part of the population of Tokharistan was engaged in agriculture. There is reference to the existence of artificial irrigation and contained in the information of Son Yun (see above). There is no doubt that an irrigation network — and a very developed one — existed in the valleys; in the higher, regions unirrigated agriculture was developing. From the archaeological works we can have an idea about the colossal volume of the irrigation network. In the Vaksh valley, as T.I., Zeimal confirmed, in the ancient and medieval times four main canals were constructed which drew water from the Vakhsh river. For the period under study, the canal Kafir had a particular importance.

79. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 223.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

81. Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 40, note 75.

82. Marquart I., 1901, p. 226.

83. Livshits V.A., 1965b.

The remnants of this canal are to be found on the left bank of the Vakhsh, 2.5 kilometres to the west of the town of Kalininabad. Further the canal reached the village Mardat (on the lands of the Kirov State Farm) from where it proceeded to the south along the eastern terrace of the valley. Here a large group of monuments (consisting of 16 objects) is situated. Its centre was the site of Chorgul-tepe, an early medieval fortified settlement — not far from where there was a Buddhist monastery of Ajina-tepe, further to the south the bed of the canal is going along the Akgazin plateau and even further to the south, following the relief the canal turns to the west towards the side of the hills Kzil-tumshuk. Here there are remnants of the early medieval settlements. The height of the barrage of the ancient canal is 1.5-2 metres, the width of the bed is upto 6 metres. Particularly impressive are the remnants of the canal, 4-5 kilometres towards south-west from Besh-kapa. Here the canal was required to be built on a low located site. The ancient builders raised a huge earthen dam and dug the canal over it. The general height of the dumps of the canal is around 8 metres. The width of the dam at the foot reaches 50 metres, the width of the canal bed itself is 13-15 metres. Even in our century this gigantic construction looks highly impressive. Further the canal again proceeded to the south irrigating many group of settlements and reached the contemporary Kumsangir region, thus cutting across the main part of the Vakhsh valley.

It is necessary to underline, in particular two peculiarities of this canal. The canal was dug up near the footsteps of the hills and occupied a dominating position in regard to the valley, which allowed of digging up the self-flowing canals in any direction. Secondly, it is an amazing art of the ancient irrigators in planning the channel of the canal. The newly built modern central canal the, route of which was dug up by highly qualified engineers — geodezists and irrigators using the materials of aerial photography and the most modern perfect geodezical instruments and equipments proceeds in the direction which happened to be approximately or completely the same as the ancient ones.⁸⁴

84. For a detailed description of the canal "Kafir" and the monuments situated in its zone, see: Zeimal T.I., 1962; Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1964; Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 39-47.

Thus in the very ancient times the rational methods of selecting the optimal route for such complex and large constructions as this canal now known under the name "Kafir" were worked out. Agricultural works were implemented by very primitive tools. Tillage was done with the help of wooden "omach" (a type of wooden plough) with an iron point at the end (found at Ajina-tepe). The other tools of the cultivator and the master-irrigator were iron spades. A fragment of iron sickle has been found at Munchan-tepe (Shaarturz region). The grinding of grain was done with the help of hand millstone of small and medium size and grain-graters (found during archaeological excavations in lower Kafirnigan, valleys of Vakhsh and Surhan Darya. Perhaps, as in other regions of Central Asia, there were water mills also.

So far as agriculture produce is concerned, we have a detailed list of them. The grains, pulses were sown. Specially underlined is the existence of good quality cotton (may be the quality related to the cotton fabric). In the country there were many grape orchards and some paddy fields.⁸⁵ There is an information that in 647 A.D. the Turk Yabgu sent (from Tokharistan) the grapes of special kind with elongated form.⁸⁶ From Tokharistan rare medicinal plants were also exported.⁸⁷

The archaeological materials confirm this information from the written sources. The abundance of grain graters and millstones testifies to the larger relative proportion of grain harvest. At Balalik-tepe dried up grapes have been found. Besides this, the seeds of grain, millet, pulses, peaches and apricots, grapes, watermelons, walnuts, pestachio, almonds, cotton buds were excavated.⁸⁸

Tokharistan horses were highly valued. Perhaps several breeds of horses existed including small but very hardy mountainous horses not scared of long journeys, and along with them another breed of horses adapted to the valley conditions. About horse legends were made; there was a belief about the existence of mythical horses — forefathers of the horses which were contemporary of the narrators.

85. The production of rice in Bactria has been already testified by Strabo (XV, 1, 8).

86. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 142.

87. Bichurin, II, p. 321.

88. Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 67-68, 101.

Besides horses, camels are often mentioned. As transport animals mules, horses,⁸⁹ and donkeys were used. In the country there were large herds of cattle and sheep. About this we know not only from the direct information given by Hoichao but also from the frequent information in the sources about the woollen clothings and woollen carpets.

Handicrafts and Trade

In Tokharistan mining was quite developed. About the extraction of precious stones, first of all, obviously the famous Badakhshan *Lals* (benign spinels), lapis lazuli and other semi-precious and precious stones is known from the information provided by the travellers and from the data about the export of some of these products.⁹⁰ According to Sonyu the precious stones in Tokharistan were in great abundance. The stone *ma-nao* was extracted, which is translated as *agat*⁹¹ but preferably as Schafer thinks Karmelian and also the ornaments from it. Salt was also extracted.⁹² From rock salt several articles were made. Thus at Balalik-tepe there was found a small statue of a camel made from a piece of pink salt. Salt possibly had a ritual meaning. In any case, it was known in the Sasanid Iran, where salt was used in the ritual of solemn oath-taking by Sasanid kings as the symbol of faithfulness. L.I. Albaum noted that judging by the information of written sources salt could have a symbolic meaning in the attitudes of the Central Asian peoples particularly of the Ephtalites.⁹³

Although there is no direct data, from the whole complex of our knowledge about Tokharistan, it can be concluded that here were mined valuable minerals starting with gold which was used for making jewellery, ornaments and sculpture, etc.⁹⁴ upto iron ore used for production of tools, household articles,

89. See the corresponding terminology: Sahafer E.H., 1963, p. 76.

90. Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 222-230, 235.

91. Bichurin, II, p. 321.

92. Chavannes E.O., 1903, p. 167.

93. Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 79-81.

94. The mission from Tokharistan presented one "golden costume" to one foreign ruler (682 A.D.) — Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 197.

weapons and armours. Naturally, different metallic workshops were functioning. At that time of almost incessant wars the production of weapons occupied one of the leading-most places in crafts. Their production of weapons occupied one of the leading places in the crafts, their production had a mass character. From the written sources we know that in the 5th-7th centuries the inhabitants of Tokharistan were armed with bows, clubs, maces, and swords, and had excellent knitted "Balkh armours".

Archaeological and iconographical materials allow us to outline this picture in greater detail. Tokharistan warriors, along with simple bows, had at their disposal compound ones as well.⁹⁵ On the Tokharistan murals male characters have daggers hanging from their belt.⁹⁶ The dagger covers were sometimes decorated with golden plates. The representatives of the nobility were also armed with swords, the details of which are not clearly visible.

In the households of the nobility the bowls and goblets of gold and silver were widely used. Elegantly made on thin and high stem; or on the even not very high base they had a body reservoir covered with closely placed vertical grooves (from here was derived the name 'groove bowls'), their edges were decorated by a line of circles. Sometimes these vessels had a very complicated form with cuts, etc.

The necks of the characters of Balalik-tepe are decorated with ornaments of different types. On the hands there are gold bracelets and on the fingers signet rings. In the ears of the Balalik-tepe and Ajina-tepe figures are complex ear rings. Archaeologists have found during excavation signet rings (metallic with incrustation) and also bracelets and other ornaments.⁹⁷ They also found elegant items made of copper, like the copper rings from Balalik-tepe on which there were realistic depictions of elephants.⁹⁸

95. About its evolution in Central Asia see : Litvinskii B.A., 1966v.

96. Litvinskii B.A., 1965.

97. For example on Munchak-tepe see : Mandelshtan A.M. and Pevzner S.B., 1958, p. 313.

98. Albaum L.I., 1960, Litvinskii B.A., and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

We also know about the highly skilled items of Tokharistan jewellers. In the second half of the 7th century they made two agate (or Karnellian) candelbrums in the shape of a tree three feet high."⁹⁹ High perfection was attained in Tokharistan in glass making. About this the fact that the Central Asian masters taught the Chinese to make coloured glass (although glass making in China was known since ancient times, it remained extremely primitive). According to the Chinese chronicles in 424 A.D., in China arrived traders and artisans from the country of the big Yueh-Chihs *i.e.* from Tokharistan. They declared that they "can cast different coloured glasses from stones, that is why, they extracted the ore in the mountains and in the capital made an experiment of casting. The experiment succeeded and glass by its brightness even surpassed the glasses coming from the western countries", (here under the glass of western countries they probably meant the glass brought from Syria and Alexandria, — the best glass in the ancient world). Further, the source narrates that the Chinese learnt the art of glass making from the masters coming from Central Asia. "The glasses were of bright colours and transparent. Everybody looking at them was astonished and thought that they were divine production."¹⁰⁰ But much later, in the beginning of the 8th century, from Tokharistan were sent to China the glasses of red and green colour which created surprise.¹⁰¹

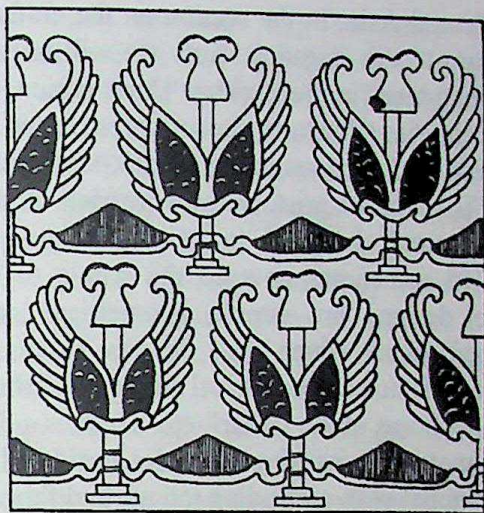
In Balalik-tepe was found a beautiful example of the artistic glass. It is a cast medallion from green glass. On its surface a sitting woman is depicted who is feeding a baby. The medallion has a silver frame.¹⁰² More frequently glass vessels, usually small, of the type of narrow-necked bottles can be found. Their body was sometimes decorated by plated wavy lines made from the glass of different colours. Glass beads were also produced.

99. Bichurin II, p. 321. For details see : Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 259.

100. Bichurin II, p. 265.

101. Bichurin II, 1950v, p. 322; see also : Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 235-236.

102. Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 67-68.



**A Sample Design of Tokharistan Fabric
(from murals of Balalik-tepe)**

Weaving craft was highly developed. Written sources inform about the woollen and cotton materials, clothing of the nobles which were distinguished by their special cut. From Huttalyan beautiful multicoloured silk materials were exported.¹⁰³ Archaeological and iconographical materials enable us to considerably expand this feature. In Balalik-tepe three types of materials are found : woollen striped (stripes yellow and red), woollen with design (blue ornament on the yellow background) silk (blue or green)¹⁰⁴ The fact that woollen (and cotton) materials were produced in Tokharistan itself is beyond doubt. This is confirmed by mass discoveries of spindles in the monuments. With the help of this simple tool spinning was done (in the districts of Tajikistan spindles were widespread until recent times when home spun yarn was replaced by the factory made yarn).

As far as silk material is concerned, earlier in literature, it was automatically linked with the import from China. Latest archaeological discoveries show that silk production and undoubtedly silk spinning were till the early medieval period fully

103. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 202.

104. Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 101-103.

mastered in Central Asia. In the section on the crafts of Sogd we will again return to this question. Now we will only note that in the castle of Jang-tepe (in the Surkhan Daria region) in the layers from 6th-8th centuries silk worm cocoons were found.¹⁰⁵

On the basis of depictions in the Balalik-tepe murals it can be said that the Tokharistan aristocracy wore rich clothes made of bright multicoloured designed material. Designs which were seldom repeated sometimes covered the whole of the material. Among these designs are simple geometrical ones (entirely diamond-shaped) plants (three-petal flowers, rosette and others). On the cloth are depicted geometrical figures of fishes, schematic depictions of the horns of the 'arhar', etc. There is a distinguishing design on the material consisting of circles, inside which the head of a fantastic animal with protruding tongue and fangs is depicted. The other material is entirely covered by closely drawn circles inside everyone of which there is a profile depiction of a male head. It is characteristic that the depicted figures of servants on the same murals are shown wearing simple clothes without designs.

Male figures of Balalik-tepe paintings are clad in narrow and long tunics with the right-sided triangle shaped flap-cuff. The tunic is tightly fitted on the body with waist belt. Female figures are dressed in cloak-cape without sleeves from under which protrudes the other dress with wide sleeves, the detail of the third dress-narrow cuff is also seen. In the painting of Ajina-tepe the gift bearing men are clad in narrow and tightly fitted costumes without flaps. In the waist the costume is tightly laced with belt. The belt is a composed one, on its surface are sown yellow (that is gold) and black (iron) plates. On the feet they wear long boots without heels called *ichigi*. The magnificent sculpture figure of a temporal character from Ajina-tepe is shown wearing narrow tunic with two-sided flaps.¹⁰⁶

Thus one can speak not only about highly developed weaving craft in best samples of its production rising to the level of real art but also about achievements in sewing work.

105. Albaum L.I., 1963, p. 81.

106. Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

Among other crafts mention may be made of pottery. Although the ceramics of the 5th-8th centuries is in many ways inferior to the best samples of the ceramics of the Kushan period but it would be risky to draw a conclusion about the regress in production in this field. Different types of ceramic products were made: starting with the tiny earthen lamps with extended nose (only in Ajina-tepe there were found more than 350 such lamps in huge storages). The quality of dining and fancy utensils was very high. Some of the forms were imitations of metallic prototypes. There also existed leather, wood-working and bone engraving,¹⁰⁷ pharmaceutical and other crafts.

About the large-volume of external trade the fact is that the traders of Tokharistan used to travel to distant countries.¹⁰⁸ From Tokharistan, especially from Huttalyan, high breed horses were exported. The arrival of herds of horses, for example, in China is mentioned in 681, 720, 748 A.D., (Tokharistan, 729, 733, 746, 750 A.D. Huttalyan).¹⁰⁹ A large quantity of precious and semi-precious stones were exported, which were transported in both raw and finished forms. We will not give all the available details in the sources but say a few words about lazurite. In later times in China it was known under the name of "Khotan stone" and from it, in the ancient and medieval times, many articles were made for the nobility. However, Khotan was only a transshipment point where probably processing of the stone was done but its extraction was carried out in Badakhshan.¹¹⁰

From Tokharistan medicines were exported : tablets consisting of aromatic medicinal drugs, made in the shape of some fruits, medicinal herbs and also drugs, which looked funny for the aliens. In large quantity a medicine called *Citragandha* was exported which consisted of several aromatic substances. It helped in curing of wounds and bleeding. The curing property of this medicine

107. See for example dices of bones from Munchak-tepe (Mandel'shtam A.M. and Pevzner S.B., 1958, pp. 313 picture 22).

108. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 20.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 64, 296. About the bringing of horses from Tokharistan in 720 A.D. see *Ibid.*, p. 76.

110. Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 230-234.

amazed the Chinese to such an extent that among them a legend appeared as if with the help of this medicine a cut off limb could be grown!¹¹¹

The trade exchange between Tokharistan and other Central Asian dominions was also quite large. In Ajina-tepe Sogdian coins were found. It is interesting that the local mint of Tokharistan, in the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century, was following Sogdian prototypes.¹¹² The abundance of copper coins found in the monuments of northern Tokharistan in the period indicates that internal trade was quite developed including not only big but also small transactions; money exchange was thus penetrating in the everyday life of the people.

Construction Work. Architecture

In Tokharistan urban settlements, rural castles, dwellings of peasants and cult-constructions were excavated. Excavations at Termez (1936-1938 under the leadership of M.E. Masson) did not give a clear idea about the structure of the given period and separate elements of this largest city of Tokharistan. More effective were the excavations of small structures, in particular the castles of Balalik-tepe, Jang-tepe and others and the settlement of Kafirkala.

"Kafir-kala is an early medieval centre of Vakhsh valley which is mentioned by Syuan-tszan. The square shaped settlement situated in Kolkhozabad is of the size of 360×360 metres. It consists of Shahrstan where there are mounds covering the ruins of a structure. In the north-eastern corner of the settlement there is a citadel. On its upper square place 60×60 metres in 1968-1970 large excavations were made. The citadel was protected by powerful walls with towers flanking it on the corners. The towers were made of *pakhsa* and bricks. The dome-shaped ceiling was made of rows of *pakhsa* and brick. The walls of the citadel, from outside were cut by the stepped niches, in their middle there is a tower-shaped projection. The surface of the walls had false slit-like loopholes. In the north-eastern corner of the citadel there was

111. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 159, 183, 184, 191.

112. Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971, p. 15.

a huge room 20 X 10 metres (apparently the audience hall). Along its walls there were *sufas*. In the middle of one of the long sides *sufa* turned into an elevated "performance stage". Here perhaps once upon a time there was a wooden Takht where the ruler and his close noblemen used to sit. On the opposite side there was another stage (it was lower than *sufa*); on it a huge ritual fire place is preserved. In this hall relics of script were found. The citadel had other halls also-the square and rectangular ones decorated with clay half columns - linking their corridors, etc. The traces of wall paintings and clay reliefs have been preserved. One of the corners of the square of the citadel housed a Buddhist chapel consisting of a small domed central room and a circular corridor. The walls of the central room were covered with paintings depicting Buddha. At least three times on the upper square of the citadel replanning was done.

Balalik-tepe (near the village Angor of Surkhan Darya region) is a small and not a very high castle. During excavations, history of its construction was ascertained. The base of the structure has the appearance of a high platform (30×30 metres at a height of six metres). This square platform was encircled by massive outside walls rising above the upper surface of the platform. On the upper square of the platform buildings were erected. In the centre there was a square yard encircled by narrow rectangular rooms on all sides. Passages linked them with each other and with the yard. The structure was adapted for defence : in the outer walls of every room were two or three narrow loopholes. Besides this, in one of the corners, there was a protruding rectangular tower which also had loopholes. The entrance to the castle, according to scholars, was situated in this tower. One could enter it through a lifting bridge. After some time radical alterations were made. In the yard a cluster of rooms was built. Among them was a big rectangular festive hall with seating arrangements (*sufas*) along its walls. Near one of the walls was a round pedestal, apparently meant for burning fire. The ceiling of the hall was flat and its wooden parts were decorated with carvings. In the centre there was a hole for light and exit of smoke. No less interesting is the small square room with seating arrangements (*sufas*). The walls of this room

were decorated with beautiful paintings. Later this building, after remaining desolate for sometime, was again reconstructed. L.I. Albaum thinks that the building was erected in the 5th century and rebuilt and decorated with murals at the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The complete destruction of Balalik-tepe is attributed by him to the first quarter of the 7th century.¹¹³

Not far away from Balalik-tepe in the same Angor district of the Surkhan Darya region where a settlement cum castle Jang-tepe is situated. This small settlement was surrounded by outside defensive walls. In the north-western corner of it is a big castle. Square in the base (50 metres from one side) and even now after destruction, 20 metres in height. The castle was erected on the place of the structure of the first century A.D. which was, after filling with rubble, changed into a platform for new structure. It was a heavily fortified castle. The corners were covered with strong rectangular towers. The even surface of the walls was slit with rectangular loopholes and niches which also had loopholes. On the upper square were rooms. The rooms of the first period (5th-6th centuries) were similar in their planning with the Balalik-tepe rooms. Later (6th-7th centuries) there was a radical replanning after the dismantling of the walls of most of the structures of the first period. The new building was quite different from the Balalik-tepe structure. Its composite scheme contains several clusters of separate rooms. Along with the festive rooms there are living rooms, kitchens, etc. This is an intricate complex of structures linked with the life of the peasant-feudal (*dehkan*). This is proved also by the various collections of household vessels. Here a unique discovery was made of the Buddhist manuscripts on birch barks.¹¹⁴

Peasant plots often elevated on the platform have also been excavated. They consisted of small inaccurately built narrow rooms, each one of which was a living cell (Chayan-tepe, Tash-tepe), it is an abode of a large family of rural commune of patriarchal family. There were also entire rural settlements, e.g. Yakshibai-tepe.¹¹⁵

113. Albaum L.I. 1960, pp. 114-125; Nilsen v.A., 1966, pp. 154-163.

114. Albaum L. I., 1962; Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 163-172.

115. Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 173-179.

The Ajina-tepe Buddhist monastery of 7th - beginning of the 8th century situated in the Vakhsh valley, 12 kilometres to the east of Kurgantiube, is an example of a religious structure. It is a relatively small monument (in size 100×50 metres) with preserved height of six metres. The monument consists of two square parts. One of them is a square yard surrounded from four sides by a complex of premises. In the centre of each side is a premises with two parts—the square hall (in one of them are sculptures on the pedestals near the walls, in front of which there is a lobby — *Aiwan* open towards the yard — *Aiwans* were linked with each other by knee type corridors occupying the corners of the structures and having an exit to the yard. The back lane of the premises consisted of corridors and small square cells. Adjacent to this half was a second one equal to it in size. Here in the centre of the yard there was a massive rising stupa, a monolith construction consists of the cube elevated on the stepped pedestal; at the top of the stupa once upon a time there was a celestial semi-sphere with canopies (now not preserved). On the stupa from all four sides there were doubly reinforced steps. The planning of the premises surrounding the stupa was in principle not much different from the planning of the other part of the construction. These are the huge 16-17 metre high corridors and central *aiwan* premises consists of two parts. They are smaller in size than the ones mentioned above. Along the outer narrow side there are seven small cells. In some of these cells miniature stupas have been placed and in others sculptures are placed on pedestals. In the corridors and niches there are large (more than the natural size) sculptures of Buddha; the walls and domes are covered with the depictions of Buddha and murals with Buddhist themes. In one of the corridors, on a pedestal, there is a 12 metre long sculpture of lying Buddha in *nirvana*. The corridor — like premises were covered with vaults and small square premises with domes. In one of the large halls the ceiling was supported by four columns and was apparently made of wood.

The abundance of Buddhist sculptures and paintings, the planning scheme, the existence of central and additional stupas — all these do not raise any doubt that Ajina-tepe was a Buddhist monastery which on the basis of the whole complex of

materials including coins, is dated 7th–beginning of 8th century A.D. It consisted of two halves which can be tentatively called “monastery” (here there were in particular cells for the monks, halls for religious meetings etc.) and the “temple” where there was a central stupa around which in the premises filled with religious sculptures and covered with Buddhist paintings the monks and the believers marched solemnly, as prescribed by religion.

Specific is the planning of Ajina-tepe. It is not only strictly symmetrical but is also characterised by the composition and existence of the four *aiwans*. Four *aiwans* are characteristic of some Central Asian architectural monuments of the epoch of developed medieval times after the victory of Islam which testifies to the successional link of the Buddhist monastery *sangharama* and medieval Central Asian *madrassa*.¹¹⁶

The Tokharistan school of architecture in the period under study, in its basic features, used the same construction materials and methods as were used in other regions of Central Asia though there were some peculiarities. The main construction materials were the clay blocks — *pakhsa* — and half metre sized large rectangular bricks. Baked bricks were used but rarely and mainly for laying the floors and in the bases of the columns, etc. Narrow premises were covered with arches of box contours laid without use of curve piece by means of slanting segments. For arches the same rectangular brick was used.

Small square premises were covered by domes. Along with the most primitive domes placed on the walls without any smooth projection (Munchak-tepe in Shaartuz) more perfect and complex methods of projection were also used. The vaults were sometimes constructed in combination with *pakhsa* and brick (Kafir-kala in Kolkhozabad)

Introduction of some methods of reducing the weight of the ceiling (Ajina-tepe) was a big achievement. Several types of arches were used. Thus vault-arch constructions were distinguished by variety and perfection. Along with them there

116. Litvinskii B.A., 1968, pp. 57-63, 69, 73; Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971.

were in use several types of flat ceiling with support on walls or columns. Festive buildings were richly decorated with murals, sculptures and wooden carvings.¹¹⁷

Painting

Paintings are fully represented in Balalik-tepe and Ajina-tepe. In a square premises (4.85 × 4.85 metres) of Balalik-tepe on the walls against a dark blue background which opens up a continuous stretch of pictures. It is a festive scene in which men and women are participating, sitting or reclining on small carpets. These figures are facing each other. On another plane standing servants are shown; they are twice less in number than the sitting figures. The feast is at its peak. L.I. Albaum who discovered this wonderful monument thought that this painting of Balalik-tepe reproduced "a scene of religious feast. But as in the ideology of early medieval society the cult was closely interwoven with everyday life, this scene can also be called as something out of daily life".¹¹⁸ L.I. Albaum offers some proofs in favour of his view but it cannot be taken as proved. G.A. Pugachenkova¹¹⁹ and B.A. Litvinskii¹²⁰ are right in thinking that this temporal painting — the depiction of a feast, was quite usual in the life of the nobility of that period. Of course further detailisation of this mural is quite complicated. G.A. Pugachenkova tried to explain that it was a reproduction of one of the topics from "Shahnama". It seems that there is no basis for this. More likely it is a quite generalised reproduction of a feast in the court of one of the local rulers or big feudals,¹²¹ or even a scene of the reception of the guests in the castle. Balalik-tepe murals are executed in a highly artistic way. Bright and colourful as they are these murals are bubbling with life. There is a certain element of conditionality : the turns of the

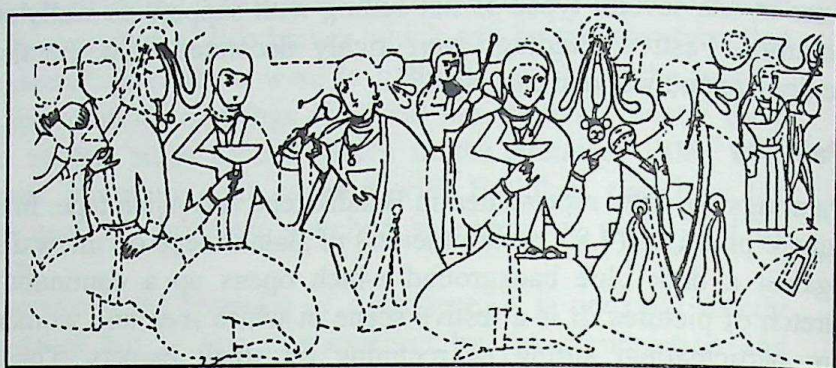
117. Nilsen V.A., 1966; Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971.

118. Albaum L.I., 1960, p. 198. V.A. Nilsen without commenting on the purpose of the mural categorically concludes that this premises itself was meant for religious banquets (Nilsen V.A., 1966, p. 162).

119. Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L.I., 1965, pp. 137-138.

120. Litvinskii B.A., E. Zeimal T.I., 1971.

121. Or even the scene of receiving guests in the castle (Nilsen V.A., 1966, p. 284).



Schematic Contours of the Painting on the Southern wall of the Main Building in the Balalik-tepe (partly reconstructed)

head and bodies of the figures are different and uncoordinated, faces are without psychological interpretation and passionless. The style of painting is characterised by superficiality. Every large figure, writes V.A. Nilsen is an idealised depiction of a nobleman. "There is an absence of realistic characterisation and a certain conditionality." At the same time the details of the clothes, different types of accessories are worked out in detail with care.

L.I. Albaum showed the links and importance of the paintings of Balalik-tepe. It is necessary to emphasize that as one of the famous contemporary foreign specialists of the art of the East, M. Bussali, thinks that the discovery of Balalik-tepe "undoubtedly shows that already in the 5th century the western region of the Central Asian world (he thus calls Tokharistan - B.G.) honoured the styles and tendencies of "Iranianised" type which are either alien to the Sasanid art or in any case are not documented clearly. Hence we have to acknowledge that some tendencies developed in the centres of Serindi are in fact repeating the Eastern Iranian (Central Asian B.G.) art". The penetration of these tendencies in Serindi (Eastern Turkestan), M. Bussali links with the development of trade and economic contacts. On the other hand, as this researcher points out, the art of Balalik-tepe left an immense influence on the art of Central Afghanistan, in particular, Bamiyan.¹²² Besides this Balalik-tepe is an example of the early

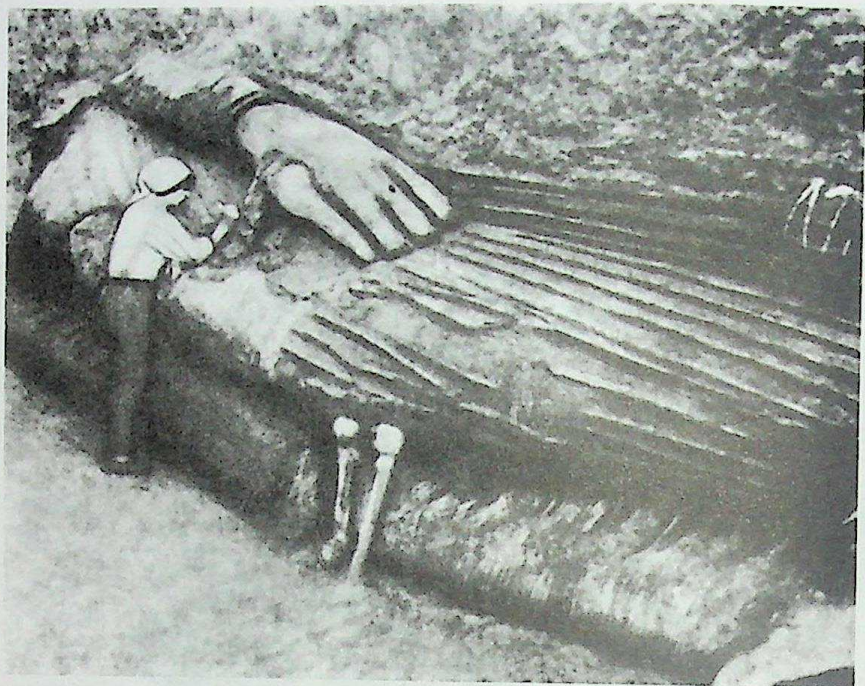
122. Bussali M. 1963, pp. 36, 39.



Aristocratic Ladies in the Balalik-tepe

medieval paintings in Central Asia. The tendencies founded by Balalik-tepe paintings were further developed in Penjikent, Varakhsha and other monuments of the 7th — middle of the 8th century.

The paintings of Ajina-tepe can be divided according to topics into three parts : the depiction of Buddhas and the Bodhisatvas, the temporal characters and decorative elements. The inner surface of the vaults was covered entirely by rows of sitting Buddhas. The Buddhas are depicted in different poses symbolising different “spiritual moods”. On the walls of the corridors inside circles were depicted the Buddhas (in big size) and the characters related with him (in a considerably smaller size). With the common theme and ideological orientation of the structure are linked the other depictions also, including the temporal characters as well. Thus on



Buddha in Nitvana Ajina-tepe

the walls of the entrance in one of the small cells was depicted a scene from which two characters have been preserved. These are the armed men sitting cross-legged. Each of them has in hand the vessel (one is golden and the other is silver filled with flowers). It is a reproduction of a Buddhist theme of *pranidha* found in the art extending from Ceylon to Eastern Turkestan — the presentation of gifts to the sacred place. These depictions are very close to the Balalik-tepe paintings; undoubtedly they are executed by the artist more experienced in Buddhist iconography than in the reproduction of the temporal characters.¹²³

Sculpture, Wood Carving and other Arts

Separate works of sculpture are found in different monuments. In Ajina-tepe have been discovered a whole series of sculptures of Buddhist character. All the sculptures of Ajina-tepe are made out of clay without an internal wooden frame. The large parts of the

123. Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1968.

sculpture are of clay and details are moulded. The heads of small and middle-size sculptures are also made by stamping. All the sculptures are painted. The dress of Buddha is painted in red colour and hands and feet are white while the hair is blue or black.

The largest sculpture of the complex is the 'Buddha in *nirvana*'. It is a real colossus, however, not standing but lying, near the wall pedestal. It is lying on the right side. The left hand is stretched and placed on one side. The right hand is bent in an elbow placed beneath the head which is resting on a pillow having five parts. About the over-all size of the figure you can judge it by the size of the foot which is 1.7–1.9 metres. The figure as originally found measured 12 metres. The body of the Buddha is covered by pleated robe in red colour. Only the hands and feet are uncovered. On the feet the Buddha is wearing light sandals which are tied with straps. The head is only partially preserved. The hair-do is very interesting: wavy hair divided by an intricate parting. As was usual in the Buddhist art the figure of the Buddha in *nirvana* was made as prescribed in a standing form — the Buddhist sculptors did not try to reproduce the details of the lying body. The sculpture is characterised by absolute conventionality of the reproduction. The sculptor placed before himself the task of reproducing not the earthly preacher but the creation of a gigantic symbol of divine serenity. It is not difficult to imagine, what a great impact this



**Head of Bodhisatva
Ajina-tepe**

sculpture must have made thirteen centuries ago, how it must have influenced the imagination of the Buddhist believers.

Among other figures of the Buddha the sculptures on the pedestals in the niches should also be mentioned. They are much smaller in size than the gigantic Buddha in *nirvana* but are still approximately 1.5 times larger than the human figure. The Buddhas are depicted in the *padmasan* posture, that is sitting in cross-legged position. Behind the head of every Buddha there is a relief and coloured aura.

Many sculptures of three fourth and half of natural size have also been found which are artistically perfect. Here are heads of the Buddhas with the characteristic projection on the head ("ushnisha"). Most of these sculptures are authentic masterpieces of art. The suppleness and the perfect beauty is what characterises them. The figures of the *Boddhisatvas* and other characters have also been discovered. Particularly beautiful are the figures of some divine characters *devas*. The nude body of the youngman whose only hips are covered with clothes is standing in a complicated twisted posture : the chest is turned to wards one side, pelvis and legs to the other, and one of the legs stretched backward. On the painted torso there are many ornaments. Some of the figures are full of dynamism and are exquisite. In the depiction of the monks the sculptor is not tied with religious canons and it is here that he has achieved authentic realism. One of the sculptures—the head of an old and tired man, with wrinkles on his forehead and around the eyes, is reminiscent of the present day Tajik oldman. No less characteristic is the head with turban. In the sculpture of Ajina-tepe many other characters are also reflected.

Notwithstanding all similarity with the other monuments of the Buddhist art (particularly with the Afghan Buddhist monument of Fundukistan also related to the 7th century), the sculpture of Ajina-tepe is unique and original. Here several traditions are reflected : the late Gandhara tradition of Khadda, the tradition of the Gupta art of India, etc. which formed layers on the powerful tradition of the local original Bactrian–Tokharistan art.¹²⁴

124. Litvinskii B.A., and Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp. 76-109.

The walls of many premises of Ajina-tepe are decorated with architectural stucco-mouldings covering the projected parts, arches and niches.

In Balalik-tepe and Jumalak-tepe (Surkhan Darya region) remnants of carved wood have been found. It is particularly found in abundance in Jumalak-tepe. Here bars of a rectangular section have been found on which a sprout with leaves or large discs, board-panels decorated with big ornamental circles, the circumference of which consisted of small circles with an intricate rosette in the centre. Besides these, parts of an extremely interesting wooden frieze, consisting of arches are divided by ornamental stripes. Inside every arch, decorated by rosettes, there are depictions of human bodies upto the waist.¹²⁵

In Tokharistan dance and music were also quite developed. In Khuttalyan and Kumed there were excellent female dancers. The rulers of these dominions used to send dancers as a present for the courts of foreign states. Some representatives of the musical art of Central Asia who were sent outside their native country, did not receive recognition in the court circles but their art was popular among the ordinary people. This particularly happened with the musicians from Kumed¹²⁶, the precursors of contemporary Pamir musicians. The remnants of musical instruments—the wooden pin, heads of griffins (finger-boards) etc., were found in one of the premises of Balalik-tepe.¹²⁷

Religion

The inhabitants of Tokharistan of the 5th–7th centuries professed several religions. In the light of historical sources and archaeological data, it can be established that a considerable part of the population of Tokharistan continued, as in ancient times, to profess Zoroastrianism. The concrete manifestation and forms of it are, however, almost completely unknown. The Ossuar tradition of burial in contrast with Sogd, Chchach and Khwarezm was not so

125. Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 303-207.

126. Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 54-55.

127. Albaum L.I., 1960, pp. 99-100.

widespread though individual discovery of ossuaries are known (Dangara Hissar).

About the dissemination of faiths related to the inextinguishable fire is best known from the discovery in Balalik-tepe of a big ceramic censer consisting of a pedestal in a conical form with openings on which bowls were placed. Such censers were found in Khairabad-tepe¹²⁸ and in southern Tajikistan. In Kafir-kala in Kolkhozabad has been found a "stationary" holy hearth.

Buddhism occupied a very strong position. It is true that the Ephtalites initially were not Buddhists. "Perhaps the Ephtalite rulers of different regions in different times did not follow the same policy in relation to Buddhism. During military campaign at some places the Buddhist religious establishments were destroyed and looted. But on the whole, to all appearances in Central Asia, during the Ephtalite rule Buddhism was not persecuted. Some of the Ephtalite rulers supported Buddhism".¹²⁹ On the Turks the Buddhist propaganda had an influence even before their arrival in Central Asia.¹³⁰

At the end of the 6th beginning of the 7th century some rulers of Western Turks became Buddhists, they started building and supporting Buddhist structures as in southern Central Asia as well as in Afghanistan and northern India. As a traveller from the 8th century wrote: "in Tokharistan the king, nobility and the people" professed Buddhism. The same information is given about Khuttalyan. In the 7th century, in the capital of Tokharistan, Balkh, there were a hundred monasteries, in Termez around ten, in Shuman two monasteries, in Kabadian three monasteries, etc. In each of the monasteries there lived a certain number of monks usually two to fifty. The Buddhist religion penetrated into the Pamir also; for example in Wakhan there were monasteries and monks. According to the available data some of the monasteries possessed large wealth consisting of land and other property. The excavations at Ajina-tepe and Kafir-kala confirmed this information contained in written

128. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-76.

129. Litvinskii B.A., 1968, pp. 33-34.

130. Gabain A.V., 1961, and his other works.

sources. The local names for geographical regions also provide some hints. In the southern Tajikistan, in the lower parts of the river Kyzyl-su, there is a district centre called Parhar. As linguists have shown that this name originates (through intermediary links) from the Sanskrit word "vihara" — "Buddhist monastery".

In Jang-tepe, Buddhist manuscripts are written on birch bark. They are written in the Central Asian Brahmi, a language of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. Here there is a full collection of Buddhist text, among them there is "Vinaya" — the rules of conduct for monks, nuns and the laymen who embraced Buddhism regulating all aspects of life and also the statutes. The remnants of such manuscripts have also been found at Kafir-kala.

All these as well as many other data provide the basis for concluding about the widespread profession of Buddhism in Tokharistan.¹³¹

The other religion which acquired firm roots in Central Asia and particularly in Tokharistan was Manicheism. In the beginning of the 8th century the head of the Manichaens resided in Tokharistan. In 719 A.D. as an emissary of the ruler of Chaganian was sent to Manichei, who carried the title of "great teacher". Manicheism, from the very beginning of its dissemination in Central Asia relied on support of the nobility and the rulers which is vividly manifested in the information about this mission.¹³²

Ultimately, another religion — Christianity,¹³³ to be precise the sect which called itself Nestorianism, — also became widespread. The presence of Christianity in the country of the Ephthalites, the spread of Christianity among the Tokharian Tiurks, the despatch from Tokharistan of an emissary whose object was to spread Nestorianism, etc., is well-known. Thus, in Tokharistan in the 6th and the beginning of the 8th century we find a real conglomeration of religions fighting for the minds and "souls" of the peoples, influencing each other and sometimes mutually interwoven.

131. For details see: Litvinskii B.A., 1968, pp.55-57, the references on literature and sources are given there.

132. Belenitskii, A.M., 1954; Litvinskii B.A. and Zeimal T.I., 1971, pp.120-121.

133. Bartold V.V., 1893; Litvinskii B.A. and Zeinal T.I., 1971, pp. 122-123.

3. Sogd in VI-VII Centuries

General Account

The name "Sogd" can be found in the sources of different languages¹³⁴ during a long period of time. Famous researcher W. Tomashek suggested that the word "Sogd", as derived from a common Iranian root, meaning "to shine", "to glitter", "to burn" (from the same root Tajik word "sukhtan" meaning "to burn").¹³⁵ In Tajik-Persian dictionaries, it is usually given completely another interpretation — "depression in which water gets collected".¹³⁶ The Tajiks now use the word "sugud" for the low-lying marshy land or reclaimed land abundant with flowing water, but this interpretation is perhaps not the initial one.

What were the geographical limits of Sogd? According to seventh century traveller Suan-tszan, Sogd is the country between the river Chu on the north-east and Baisungate in the south-west. It is not difficult to understand that here the question is not of the politico-geographical frontier of Sogd but of the main territory where the Sogdians were settled. Arabic and Tajik language sources of the later period (mostly from X-XIII centuries), reflecting the understanding of this question in their period nevertheless preserved some echoes of more ancient times. From them we come to know that the term Sogd was used both in wide and narrow meaning. In a wider meaning Sogd is the entire Zeravshan valley (sometimes excluding its upper-most part) and the valley of the river Kashka-Darya. At the same time there existed another notion of Sogd as a region predominantly linked with Samarkand. The medieval authors often speak about "Samarkand Sogd". There also existed a notion of "Bokhara-Sogd", Yakut made a statement: "They say there are two Sogds — Sogd of Samarkand and Sogd of Bokhara".¹³⁷ The valley of Kashka Darya was viewed as a part of Sogd, while some authors,

134. For summary see : Tomashek W., 1877, p. 74.

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

136. For summary of this information see : Smirnova O.I., 1963, pp. 24-25.

137. Yakut, III, p. 394.



Dresses of the People of
Central Asia in the 6th-8th centuries
1- Tokharistanians (as in the murals at Balalyk-tepe)
2- Sogdians (as in the murals at Panjkent)



The Sogdian Warriors of the 6th-8th centuries
1- On the basis of wall paintings in Panjikent
2- On the basis of the depiction on the silver
plate from the village of Kulagysh

for example, Yakubi call Kesh as the capital of Sogd.¹³⁸ All these data have been worked out in detail by the researchers.¹³⁹

Suan-tszan and Khoi Chao on Sogd

Suan-tszan was in Sogd in 629 A.D. He writes that Samokien or Samotszyan (Samarkand) is a dominion stretched from the east to the west. The size of the capital is said to be the same as Termez. The dominion Samokien is protected from all sides by natural barriers. The population is very large. In this dominion valuable goods from foreign countries are piled up. The land is fertile and provides abundant crops. The trees grow fast (he calls them forest trees). There are many flowers and fruits. This country has excellent horses. The residents excel the inhabitants of other countries in art and handicrafts (according to another translation, in trade). The climate is soft and moderate. The people are energetic and courageous. This dominion is situated in the centre of "barbaric" countries. All the neighbouring people follow them in everything, in the norms of moral conduct and decency. The king is very courageous and all the neighbouring regions follow his orders. He has a large army including cavalry. The warriors occupy a special position. The traveller calls them "Chi-Kia". They are brave enough to cheerfully face death. When they attack, no enemy can withstand.

Further Suan-tszan writes about the dominions, Mimokhe (Maimurg), Tszebudan (Kabudan), Tsiuishuannitszia (Kushania) Bukhe (Bokhara), Tszeshuann (Kesh) and others. Only their sizes are given and the same brief characteristics are repeated: "in traditions and food similar to Samokein (Samarkand)"¹⁴⁰

Khoi Chao (726 A.D.) gives a brief sketch of the "Hu countries" where he includes An' (Bokhara), Tsao (Ishtihan), Shi (Kesh), Shi-lo, Mi (Maimurg) and Kan (Samarkand). Although each of these dominions has its own ruler, all of them are subordinated to the Arabs. These dominions are not big. In each of them there are small military detachments. Here are camels,

138. Yakubi, 1892, p. 299 (see also p. 293).

139. See for example: Bartold V.V., 1965 b, pp. 477-478.

140. Beal, S., 1906, pp. 32-36.

mules, sheep and horses. Cotton is cultivated. People wear cotton clothes and fur trousers and upper garments. Menfolk like to wear headgear of white cotton material and shave their head and face. The language is different from the language of other countries. Their traditions are quite spoiled : men can marry any woman, mother or sister. In Iran a man can also marry his mother. In these six dominions Zoroastrianism is professed, the teachings of Buddha are not known. Only in Samarkand there is a Buddhist monastery with one monk.¹⁴¹

Political History

There are yet not sufficient sources to enable us to write the political history of Sogd, more so, of the dominions included in it. The information contained in the sources provide isolated facts only.

In the beginning of the VII century, according to the data in a historical chronicle, in Samarkand Sogd (in this chronicle it is named as "Kan") ruled a local dynasty going back (or may be extending itself) to the Yueh-chi predecessors. It is believed that it was established on the throne and ruled without interval almost from the beginning of our era. The throne name (or title) of the ruler was Chzhaoi.¹⁴² The ruler of Sogd lived in a densely populated city called Aludi. "Kan is considered to be a powerful state" — the chronicle informs.¹⁴³ Consequently, even the Western Tiurk Kagan Datoi (ruled from 575-576 A.D. to 603 A.D.) thought it proper to become a relative of the ruler of Sogd, Taishepi (E. Shavani and K. Shiratori give this name) by giving his daughter to him in marriage.

At that time such dominions as Mi (Maimurg), Tsao and Khe (Ishtihan and Kushania), small An (on the eastern border of

141. Fuchs W., 1938, pp. 451-452.

142. There are two opinions about this title. Some scholars (particularly V. Radlov and I. Marquart) explain its origin from Tiurk language (one of the latest attempts at such explanation : Haussig H.W. 1956) while others from Iranian (from the period of Remyuz : Abel Remusat, 1829, p. 227, n.2). Among the supporters of Iranian origin of this title may be mentioned V. Tomashek, S. Konov, Kh. Sheder and others.

143. Bichurin II, pp. 280-281.

Bokharan oasis), Nashebo (Nesef) and others, in total eight dominions,¹⁴⁴ were under the power of Kan, *i.e.*, Samarkand Sogd. Thus, under the Samarkand Sogd ruler were almost all the dominions of Zeravshan valley, perhaps with the exception of its western-most part) and as well as the Kashka Darya valley (Nesef). When this confederation was formed its character and the degree of dependence of separate dominions on the central power is practically not known.

In the palace of the Samarkand Sogd ruler "there was a temple of ancestors in which sacrifices were offered to the sixth moon. The other rulers came to help the offerings".¹⁴⁵

This information should be viewed as an evidence of the existence of the ties of kinship between the rulers of Sogd, their origin from some common ancestors (there are definite indications to it in the sources). Of course, the other explanation can not be ruled out : that is the vassals of the Samarkand ruling court were obliged to take part in the ritual of the festival in order to show their faithfulness to the suzerain. Perhaps, both these possibilities should be taken into account.

The composition and geographical borders of this confederation hardly remained unaltered. It is likely that at some stage the Bokharan oasis or a considerable part of it was incorporated in it. This is mentioned in the information provided by Masudi; who writes that the wall surrounding the Bokharan oasis was built in ancient times by one of the kings of Sogd.¹⁴⁶

At some stage the capital of Sogd was Kesh. This is reflected in later sources. This fact is mentioned in a later work of 9th century by Yakubi.¹⁴⁷ The strengthening of Kesh dominion starts in the first quarter of the 7th century.¹⁴⁸ The ruler Ticho (could it

144. *Ibid.*, II, p. 281.

145. *Ibid.*

146. Masudi, 1894, p. 65.

147. Yakubi, 1892, p. 299.

148. Long before this there was an independent dynasty there. In the 5th - 6th centuries Kesh rulers minted coins on the front size of which was a portrait and on the other the ruler is shown striking with sword the lion or lion-like creature standing on its hind legs. The Sogdian inscription on one

be Iranian name Tish in this foreign source?) was considered very powerful. He sent an emissary to one foreign state; built the city of Ki-she which is generally identified with Kesh. There is also an information about the despatch of a mission with presents in 642 A.D. by another ruler named Shashepe.¹⁴⁹ In the historical sources there is no other information about him. But this ruler issued coins. Among the coins discovered in Penjikent there is an inscription "Ikhshid Shishpir". On the coins there is an Aramaic ideogram "king", which on the Sogdian coins signified the rulers of the entire Sogd-Ikhshids. Comparing all these facts it becomes evident that the more logical explanation of it is in the acceptance of the ruler of Kesh by name of Shishpir as a king of the entire Sogd.¹⁵⁰ Of course, it is only one of the many possible versions.

But the hegemony of Kesh in the Sogdian confederation lasted not very long. Soon, as it is evident from the sources between 656-660 A.D., new ruler of Kesh — Chzhaou Shiagie (this is according to Bichurin; E. Chavannes reads his name as Che-a-ho) became dependent on the Samarkand king.¹⁵¹ The ruler of Samarkand Sogd became a supreme ruler a little earlier between 650-655 A.D. Apparently, it took some time to force Kesh to accept the supremacy of Samarkand. It can be guessed that during this five year period there was a struggle between Samarkand and Kesh as a result of which Shishpir was removed and Shiagie (Sheaho) took the place of the ruler.

The title of Ikhshid Sogd was now carried by the representative of the Samarkand ruling house who was called by aliens as Fukhuman.¹⁵² There is a large collection of Sogdian coins the legend on which O.I. Smirnova reads as Ikhshid Varkhuman" (she thinks that Fukhuman is an alien version of the Sogdian king Varkhuman, more precisely Avarkhuman).¹⁵³ The name of this king is mentioned also in large Sogdian inscription on Afrasiab.

of the coins of this series reads as "the King of Kesh" (Kabanov S.K., 1961, p. 137; Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G. 1964, p. 110, 170).

149. Bichurin, II, p. 316; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 146.

150. Smirnova O.I., 1963, pp. 140-141, 62-63.

151. Bichurin, II, p. 316; Chavannes E., 1903, p. 146.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 317; *Ibid.*, p. 135.

153. Smirnova O.I., 1963, p. 28.

Along with the common Sogdian kings the local kings also continued to exist. The rulers of Kesh, now under the Samarkand ruling house, had their own hereditary title of *Ikhrīd*.¹⁵⁴

The Bokharan dominion in the Chinese sources was called as An, Neumi, they also knew the title of Bukho (Pou-ho) *i.e.* Bokhara and also the title of the ruler *Chzhaoi*. The rulers of Bokhara had an origin common with Samarkand rulers. In the beginning of the 7th century the Bokharan ruler was a close kin of the Samarkand ruler. In the second quarter of the 7th century, the ruler of Bokhara was one Alinga (this is according to Bichurin; E. Chavannes thinks it was Noling-kia). The Chinese source informs that the Bokharan ruling house "successively rules in the 22 generation", ¹⁵⁵ *i.e.* for several centuries.

In the Bokharan region there were in circulation *skifat* (concave) copper coins with Sogdian inscription "King Asvar". According to paleographical data these coins can be dated back to 4th-5th centuries. The Iranian name of the king means "horse rider" (among the Tajiks the word "asp" until now means "horse" and "savor" is "horse-rider"). Going by the inscriptions the Bokharan rulers had two titles, one of which meant the "king" and the other "ruler".¹⁵⁶

A separate and highly important dominion was Penjikent. It included, besides the region of Penjikent proper (at that time it was called "Panch") in the beginning of the 8th century, the localities of the upper Zerafshan. In the Sogdian documents, found during excavations of the castle on the mount Mug, are mentioned Magian ("moon-like"), Pargar ("hilly [land], presently Falgar), Kshtut (at present Kshtut), Martushkat (at present Matcha). In these places there were numerous settlements. There the settlements Madm and Kum are also mentioned (at present they carry the same names), Zerovadk (at present Zarovat), Eskotar ("upper-lying" [land] at present Iskodar), Khskikand at (present Khshikat) Varz "high" (at present Varzi-Minor), Kurut (at present

154. Smirnova O.I. has prepared a chronological table of the rulers of Kesh (1962, p. 68)

155. Bichurin, II, p. 282.

156. Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, pp. 169-170.

Kurut), Fatmif (at present Fatmev), Pakhut (at present Pokhud), Eftmaut (at present Falmout), Shavkat ("black city", at present Shavatk). The valley of Yagnob was also included in the Penjikent dominion. Obviously, the other localities of Petaman (medieval Butaman) were also included in it or were under it, in the present case, Hissar and Zerafshan mountain range. In the Mug documents are mentioned particularly the present-day settlement of Anzob.¹⁵⁷

The abundant mint of Penjikent-Panch is being studied now, by the specialists. It is established that in Penjikent-Panch ruled its own dynasty (the deciphering of the names of the representatives of this dynasty, with some exceptions, cannot be considered as final). In the difficult Sogd period of the first quarter of the 8th century during the Arab invasion, the role of Penjikent dominion which was not subjected to the destructive raids of the Arabs increased manifold. The ruler of Penjikent Devashtich who did not belong to the Sogdian king's dynasty (the name of his father Yodkhshetak is given in the Mug document V-4 without the title "king"), claimed the Samarkand throne and the title "Sogdian king of Samarkand ruler Devashtich" and for some time he occupied the Samarkand throne (for details see next chapter).

Along with the large dominions, there were numerous smaller ones and some of them also minted their own coins. In the Sogdian settlement Samitan (in the region of ancient Kushania, *i.e.*, in the locality of present day settlements Mitani, Pai-Aryk and Chilek) was the centre of a small dominion and its ruler minted bronze coins in his own name.¹⁵⁸

The strengthening of separate dominions, included in the Sogdian confederation, is a fact emanating from historical, archaeological and numismatic sources. The supreme power of the Sogdian king is weakened and the size of the confederation is considerably reduced. About the size of the confederation we can judge by several informations provided by the available sources. In 712 A.D. the Arabs promised Gurek — the son of Ikhshid of Sogd — to make him the "king of Samarkand, its lands and boundaries and of Kesh and Neseft and their cities and forts." In

157. Smirnova O.I., 1960.

158. Smirnova O.I., 1967, pp.36-39.

the Sogdian confederation were also included Mi (Maimurg) and Tsao (Kabudan or Ishtikhan)¹⁵⁹ and perhaps some other dominions. The largest among the constituent parts of the confederation, Bokhara, obtained independence. At the helm of the Bokharan dominion was the dynasty of Bokhar-Khudats.¹⁶⁰ On the coins of the rulers of this dynasty the title "ruler, king of Bokhara", was inscribed.¹⁶¹

The Sogdian state had diplomatic relations with other Central Asian dominions and often exchanged envoys. In the paintings in Afrasiab is depicted a scene of arrival of such emissaries (more precisely, the reception of diplomatic missions), and the Sogdian inscription accompanying it reads as follows:

"When Avarkhuman..., king approached him [the envoy] the latter opened his mouth : I am the Chaganian dapirpat (head of the mission — B.G.) [by name] Bukarzate. From the Chaganian ruler Turantash here in Samarkand to the king for paying respect I came and I am now bowing my head before the [king] and [you] don't have the slightest doubt about me — about the Samarkand gods and also about [Samarkand] script (perhaps the 'scriptures' — B.G.) with which I am very well acquainted and did not inflict [?] any harm on [Samarkand] king. [A] varkhuman...the king let him go. And [then] the Chach dapirpat opened his mouth...." The inscription is interrupted here.¹⁶²

The documents of the Mug archives speak about the mutual diplomatic relations between the various Central Asian regions, especially with Chach, Ustrushana and Fargana. Many sources narrate about the emissaries despatched from Sogd to distant places beyond Central Asia and about the arrival of the emissaries from various states.

Irrigation Agriculture

Three main irrigational canals irrigating the locality towards the south of Samarkand were dug out in the medieval times in the

159. Bichurin, II, p.311.

160. More precise would be Bokhar-Khuda, see : Narshahi, *The History of Bokhara*, 1954, p.108.

161. Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, p.170.

162. Translation by V.A. Livshits for the author.

locality of Varagser ("the head of the dam" presently Rabat-i-Khoja). From the description of the events associated with the Arab conquest, as V.V. Bartold noticed, is evident that this system existed even before the Arab conquest,¹⁶³ *i.e.*, in 6th-7th centuries. In the same period the canal bringing water to Samarkand city was also functioning.¹⁶⁴

Among the large canals in the pre-Muslim period can be mentioned Narpai, irrigating the district of Kushania. Further below the Zerafshan river within the Bokharan oasis one of the canals in the medieval times carried the name of Shapurkam (later Shafirkam), and the legend existed that it was dug out by some Sasanid prince Shapur.¹⁶⁵ This canal irrigated the northern most part of the Bokharan oasis—the district of Vardan dominion, the rulers of which fought and competed with the Bukhar-Khudats. Also some other large canals were functioning.¹⁶⁶ A well developed irrigational system also existed in the Kashka Darya Oasis.¹⁶⁷

The Samarkand region was well irrigated and cultivated. There were so many fields and greenery, that the first Arab Vice-regents called it "the garden of the Emir of the faithfuls", *i.e.*, the Caliph.¹⁶⁸

The agriculture in Sogd was irrigational but it is difficult to imagine that the dry lands were not used. Common characteristics of agriculture is contained in one of the chronicles of that time. "The climate is warm, suitable for cultivation of the various cereals. The inhabitants are engaged in horticulture and vegetable production. The trees are very well grown. There are horses, camels and donkeys."¹⁶⁹

A detailed picture of the composition of the crops is given by excavations in the mount of Mug. Here different seeds and grains

163. Bartold V.V., 1965a, pp.186-187.

164. *Ibid.*, p.188.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

166. For a description of the ancient irrigational systems of Bukharan Oasis see: Shishkin V.A., 1963, pp.22-25.

167. Kabanov S.K., 1956a, p.164.

168. Bartold V.V., 1965a, p. 196.

169. Bichurin, II, p. 281.

the remnants of cotton plants were found.¹⁷⁰ From the Mug documents we come to know that the main crops in the region of upper Zerafshan were wheat and grapes. Barley, millet and pulses were also cultivated.¹⁷¹ The Sogdian term for grain is etymologically linked with the meaning of "winnowed".¹⁷²

Grinding of grain was done in mill. Document V-4 from the mount Mug is an agreement about the rent by one Makhian of three mills "with all canals, constructions and millstones", the rent was paid in kind by flour.¹⁷³ Although we do not have full information about the mills, some large millstones have been found, for example, in Afrasiab. Along with the water mills in the household of city dwellers as earlier the hand millstones of middle and small sizes were used.

Documents contain the instructions about the supply of grains, fruits and wines. Vine-growing was one of the leading branches of agriculture.

In Penjikent one vine-press has been found. It was in the shape of a pit in the bottom of which there was a special depression. Besides the pit there was a shallow tank linked with a narrow channel. The walls of the pit and the tank were carefully plastered. It can be guessed that the tank was covered with boards placed not very close to each other. Over them there spread a layer of raw 'camel' thorns with grapes above them. When pressed the juice first trickled down into the tank and from there it flowed to the pit. From the pit, it was poured into *khums*, after it had settled. The present day common Tajik vine presses are made the same way.¹⁷⁴

Historical chronicles contain data about abundance in Samarkand-Sogd of grape wine. We are informed that large stocks of it were preserved in the houses of the aristocracy for many years. That this is not an exaggeration is testified by

170. Danilevskii V.V. and others 1940.

171. Smirnova O.I., 1963; pp.12-20; Smirnova O.I. and Bogolyubov M.N., 1963.

172. Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 136.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

174. For this see : Bolshakov O.G. and Negmatov N.N., 1958, pp. 187-188.

archaeological materials and Mug documents. In one of them it is mentioned that so and so “is to be supplied without delay fragrant wine which servants drink and its [wine’s] left overs should be sealed and in this form [sealed] it should be preserved”. Such type of information looks like the illustration to the stories of chronicles. There was also a designation of the “chief wine scooper”¹⁷⁵

Along with the vine-yards there were many gardens. In the same Mug documents “the chief of the park” is mentioned. The quality of the fruits was very high. For example, from Samarkand–Sogd peaches which astonished aliens were exported and “were so large as the eggs of a goose and their colour was golden and they were also called golden peaches”.¹⁷⁶ The white and yellow cherries were also an export item.¹⁷⁷ All this fully confirms the account of the agriculture of Sogd given by Syuan-tszan (Huan-tsan).

In the opinion of the foreigners importing pedigree Samarkand horses they had a common origin with the Fargana horses.¹⁷⁸ From Samarkand, Bokhara, Kesh and Maimurg in 624, 724, 726, 736, 744, 750 A.D. were sent hordes of high pedigree Sogdian horses to China.¹⁷⁹

The Samarkand sheep with their large heavy “tail”¹⁸⁰ the famous *kurdyuk* sheep attracted the attention of foreign authors.

In Mug documents, large and small cattle and riding animals like horses, mules and donkeys are mentioned¹⁸¹ In some valleys and plains the camels were also used.¹⁸²

There is no doubt that in Sogd, seri-culture was also quite developed. Silk and cotton weaving as well as the production of woolen cloth was based on local and not on imported raw materials.

175. Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 104.

176. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 1, 117.

177. Bichurin, II, p. 311.

178. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 147.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 64, 296.

181. Smirnova O.I. 1963, p. 20.

182. Bichurin, II, p. 281.

Handicrafts and Trade

The mountains surrounding Sogd have different minerals in abundance. About the extraction of some of them is known from written sources. For example there is direct indication about the extraction of gold and ammonium chloride¹⁸³ in these sources. Gold was not only extracted but exported from Sogd especially from Kesh and Maimurg¹⁸⁴, in a large quantity.

From Maimurg, metallic alloy was exported — the term signifying this alloy is translated “brass” *i.e.* the alloy of copper and zinc.¹⁸⁵ Salt was also extracted. It was used in food and other articles. The sources specially mention coloured salt imported from Maimurg and Kesh.¹⁸⁶

Large scale extraction of minerals was determined first of all by the internal demand and was only partially stimulated by export. Archaeological materials related to metallic production are quite varied. Particularly a lot of such material was found during excavations at Penjikent. One of the metallic workshops was discovered here in the third section.¹⁸⁷ It consists of two adjacent rooms. In one of them a large earthen vessel *khum* was dug into a not high *sufa* with its neck inside. It acted as a furnace. Apart from this there were other production equipment. A two channel nozzle has been found. Sogdian craftsmen, for obtaining high temperature, used two bellows which provided interrupted blowing, *i.e.*, completeness of the cycle (this problem was faced also by engineers in West Europe in the medieval period).¹⁸⁸

In the other metallic workshop (also a two-room structure) in the main room the working place is clearly seen. The bellow had a mouth and hole for the nozzle. Within the bellow there is a collection of slags. On the floor of the workshop are many pieces of iron and slags.¹⁸⁹ Spades for the bellows, ironsmith's

183. *Ibid.*

184. Schafer E.H. 1963, p. 754.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

186. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

187. Belenitskii A.M., 1958, pp. 117-119.

188. *A History of Technology*, 1957, p. 643.

189. Belenitskii A.M., 1961a, p. 82.

instruments beginning with the anvil and ending with the hammers and massive chisels.

The production by the metallic workers was of various types. Even if the objects of weaponry are excluded, the assortment was quite large. These are the production tools — spades, axes, sickles, etc.; objects relating to the joiner-carpenter's work : nails, spikes, hasps, staples, etc. The household articles are represented by iron knives of various types, iron and bronze belts buckles, ornaments, iron scissors, door keys, intricate bronze-iron lamps.¹⁹⁰

Weapon production was closely linked with metallic work. The metal workers were often simultaneously weapon-makers also although there existed specialised armourers as well.

Offensive weapons of the Sogdians consisted of weapons for close and long range fighting. They had intricate and simple bows, swords and daggers, spears, maces and poleaxes. The defensive armour consisted of shields, chain armour, coat armour and helmet. Referring to the detailed description to publications of the excavations and special works,¹⁹¹ the following may be noted. The discovery of the articles in particular of shields and arrows in the castle on the mount Mug, the arrowheads and bow in Penjikent etc., and also abundant iconographical materials, the written sources prove that production of weapons was one of the leading branches of crafts. A large quantity of weapons could be produced only by a whole army of specialists craftsmen. Their work was extraordinarily difficult and demanded long time and skills. Take for example, the intricate bow. The making of such a bow, according to historical and ethnic data, took one to two years. The discovery of bone hasps of the intricate bow in the Penjikent settlement shows that they were produced in Penjikent. The weapons of the aristocrats, especially swords and daggers, were also distinguished by highly artistic work. Judging by the available specimens and iconographical material the Sogdian armourers successfully coped with the production of artistically designed weapons. The handles of the daggers, swords and sheaths

190. *Ibid.*, 1958, pp.135-140; 1961a, pp. 84-85; 1961b pp. 88-90.

191. See in particular Jalilov A., 1958, pp. 81-95 (a useful but not exhaustive summary).

represented the real work of art. They were made from precious metals, decorated with incrustation and laps and designed in the shape of dragon heads, etc. The same can be said about some shields. The finish of the work did not exhaust all merits of the Sogdian weapons. More important is the fact that it was quite effective. The Sogdian defensive armours were famous in the distant East and the West. In 718 A.D. the Sogdians sent their chain armour to China as a gift. This resulted in the Chinese armourers taking it as a sample and in the Chinese army also appeared chain armours.¹⁹²

From Samarkand-Sogd originated the excellent "artistic articles."¹⁹³ The names of some of them have been carried to us by the written sources. These are the precious brazier-censers and small vessels for eyedrops. From Samarkand, Maimurg and Kesh were sent the precious stones and articles made out of them as gifts to the foreign courts; especially from Samarkand the vase from Carnelian¹⁹⁴ was sent.

On the wall paintings are depicted many ornamental articles — plates, bowls, goblets. To the articles of Sogdian jewellery art, belong some articles found beyond the frontiers of Central Asia, for example, the silver plate with a scene of duel which was found in the village of Kulagish (former Perm province) and now preserved in the State Hermitage.¹⁹⁵ The other example of Sogdian jeweller's art is the plate depicting the horse-rider shooting at the lion attacking him.¹⁹⁶ However, there is no sufficient proof for this because the inscription on this vessel is not Sogdian and in it the name of a person on whose order the plate was made is mentioned. Linguistic analysis leads to the conclusion that the plate was most likely made in Iran in the post-Sasanid period.¹⁹⁷

192. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 261.

193. Bichurin, II, 1950, p. 310.

194. Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 259.

195. Attributing this article to Sogd. wrote M.M. D'iakonov and A.M. Belenitskii. The publication of the Sogdian articles was prepared by B.I. Marshak.

196. Zabelina N.N. and Rempel L., 1948; Pugachenkova G.A., Rempel L., 1965, pp. 149-150.

197. Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, pp. 162-163.

During the excavations different pieces of jewellery were found — magnificent golden ear-rings with oval pendant of red spinal, decorated with turquoise and small pearls; bronze, gold and silver signet rings decorated with precious and semi-precious stones; wonderful collection of beads glittering and shining with all colours of the rainbow as if they were drops of dew reflecting in the rays of the early morning sun.

The textile craft of Sogd attained a very high level of development. This conclusion can be drawn on the basis of archaeological findings and information drawn from written sources. In the castle on the Mug hill approximately about 150 samples of fabrics have been found. Although ill-preserved found in fragments,¹⁹⁸ nevertheless they provide a possibility for technical evaluation. M.P. Vinokurova counted 90 fragments of cotton fabrics among the 135 samples from the Mug hill studied by her, 44 silken and only one woollen (I. Bentovich says that in this collection there are very few woollen fabrics). All the cotton fabrics are in a simple woven design on linen. The threads are slightly twisted and uneven in thickness. One of the fabrics is very rare : from 8 to 10 threads in the base and 10 to 12 threads of the woof in one square centimetre upto 10-14 threads in the base and 20-15 threads of the woof in a square centimetre, rough samples are like sack cloth. In all, according to thickness of thread, the quality of weaving and its thickness four groups of cotton fabrics can be counted. Not a single sample of ornamental cotton fabric has been found.

Combined fabrics form a special group. Their base consists of alternating groups of silken and cotton threads. As for the woofs, it is made of cotton threads. Purely silk fabrics are also divided into four groups. Most of them are made of more complicated serge and interwoven with reps threads only rarely with linen combined with serge. The thickness of most of these fabrics is considerably higher than of the cotton fabrics : upto 39-40 threads in the base and 39-40 threads of the woof in one square centimetre. In general, in order to make silken fabrics, the master should have known quite complicated methods. Some of the Mug silken

198. Bentovich, I.B., 1958, p.362.

fabrics show the inclination towards the techniques of cotton weaving, which indicates, along with the above-mentioned sample of combined cotton-silken fabric, the gradual transition of the weavers of cotton fabrics to the methods and techniques of silken fabric. With the threads of different colours patterned fabrics were made. The design consisted of diamond-shaped figures in the centre of which there were floral rosettes (this type of ornament can be seen in the Penjikent paintings). Also found are jagged rosettes in the centre of which there are peas and heart-shaped figures; four-petal palms; plant saplings with stylish flowers; complicated decorations, circles with rosettes in the centre with combination of floral saplings etc. Some of the silk fabrics of the Mug hill collection could have been brought from China and the Mediterranean countries but the main part is undoubtedly made locally in Sogd.

The woolen fragment is large in size with narrow blue stripes.

Perhaps special looms were used for making these fabrics. One of the artifacts of textile production — comb for nailing the threads of the woof — has been found on the Mug hill (one whole piece and several fragments).¹⁹⁹

In the paintings from Varakhsha as well as from Penjikent the fabrics of rich robes have highly varied motifs and designs : from simple diamond-shaped cheques and rosettes upto complicated combinations of circles with the birds and boars, etc. depicted inside them.²⁰⁰ In Penjikent paintings there are fabrics which are decorated with lion, elephant, bird in the frame of pearls. The dresses of the characters in the paintings from Afrasiab are made from highly decorated fabrics.

In the collections of museums of West Europe there are preserved samples of silken fabrics on which lions, lambs and rosettes are depicted. Now the colours have faded (except for the blue one) but initially they must have been brighter. It is established that once upon a time the fabrics were of bright green, grey-blue, bright pink, orange and white colours. Some of these fabrics are completely preserved full pieces of goods of the size upto 1.16 x 2.41 metres which allows us to determine the width of

199. Vinokurova M.P., 1957, pp.17-32.

200. Shishkin B.A., 1963, pp.158-159, 220-221.

the loom. The complete painting consisted of, as researchers have observed, repeated circles framed in designed border.

On one of the fabrics preserved in Yui (Belgium) on the reverse side is inscribed in black ink : "length 61 inches zandanechi...". This was deciphered by V.B. Henning. Famous specialist on fabrics D. Shepard found similar fabrics in other museums and determined their characteristic features. It was she who pointed out certain features distinguishing them from the Chinese silken fabrics and called this group of fabrics Sogdian. A.M. Belinskii and I.B. Bentovich supported this view with additional arguments. The Chinese sources describing the events related to the Arab conquest give many details about silken fabrics (one variety was the fabric called "zandanechi")²⁰¹

We do not intend to give the details of the gents and ladies dresses of various types. We would only like to note that all this can be ascertained in full from depictions in the paintings.²⁰²

"The tanning of leather", writes I.B. Bentovich "was very well known to Sogdians". Well-tanned thin white leather served as material for writing. "For example, on such leather was written a well-known Arabic document (from Mug hill, B.G.)". The wooden shield is covered by thin yellowish leather; the fragments of a small box are covered by black leather with golden rosettes; the lid of a square basket is artistically covered by coloured leather. The discovery of a leather boot is very interesting. Its style is repetition of those leather boots called "mqi" which are worn by contemporary Tajiks in the mountainous regions".²⁰³ It is obvious that the leather craftsmen made other articles also which are not there in the Mug collection: the articles for harnessing horses, belts, knife covers, etc. In the written documents from the Mug hill are mentioned "ship skins", "lamb skin"; when there is a

201. Belinskii A.M., Bentovich I.B., 1961; Belinskii A.M. and others, 1963.

202. Huan-tsan wrote about Sogd, "The more wealthy a person, the more he is esteemed, but [from outside appearance] the wealthy and poor are not distinguished; even extremely wealthy people eat and dress modestly" (Beal S., 1906, I, p. 27). However this "democratisation" existed only in the imagination of Huan-tsan — the archaeological data including iconographic material on dresses do not support this information.

203. Bentovich, I.B., 1958, p.362, 371-372. See also: Ivanov S.V., 1952, pp. 49-52.

reference to leather further specification is made: "Ox skin", "dry cow skin"... "skin of mountain goat", the skin of young animals is mentioned especially, coloured leather is also mentioned.²⁰⁴

There is no need to dwell, even briefly, on all crafts. It may be noted that the craft of bone cutting, carpentry, ceramic etc. were highly developed.

The large scale production of handicraft particularly in the cities, contributed to the wide development of internal and external trade. The "skill" of the Sogdian, in trade is mentioned in several sources. Education of children began from the age of five. They were taught reading and writing and later when they reached a certain level of development, they switched over to learning of commercial business. Having reached twenty years of age youngsters were sent abroad for trade trips. As per information contained in the sources "the majority of population valued profit highly."²⁰⁵

The external trade was conducted in many directions, with different countries of East and West and also with the population of the northern steppes. Especially, a high turnover was achieved in the trade of Central Asia with the Byzantine. It was partly carried through Iran but mainly through the northern Caucasus. To Sogd, Byzantinian silk fabrics were brought. According to their samples several Sogdian silken fabrics were woven which in turn were exported from Sogd to the West. A fragment of such Sogdian fabric, made according to Byzantinian samples but with clear Sogdian features, was found in a sepulchre of Moshchevaya Balka in the northern Caucasus.²⁰⁶

Along the "Silk route" of northern Caucasia, not only silk but many different goods were carried. In this connection a Byzantinian plate found in the region of Kungur is quite interesting. The depictions on it are the work of Byzantinian masters. Its Byzantinian origin is testified by the stamps of the Byzantinian masters. This plate was indisputably made in Byzantine in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. At the

204. Smirnova O.I., and Bogolyubov M.N., 1963, p.11.

205. Bichurin II, p.310; Chavannes E., 1903, p.133.

206. Iyerusalimskaya A.A., 1967a, 1967b.

same time the plate carries three carved words in the Sogdian - Bukharan script : "the ruler of Bukhara such and such". This inscription according to paleographic data belongs to the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Thus this article, which was made in a Byzantinian workshop after a short time, reached the Bukharan Sogd.²⁰⁷

Many Sogdian goods, from precious stones and articles made from them, to marvellous fabrics and medicinal remedies, were exported to Central Asia and China.

Thus the level of external trade was very large. At the same time internal trade was also growing. This is evident from the abundant emission of coins, especially bronze ones.

The monetary system of Sogd, in the fifth-seventh centuries A.D., has not been studied adequately. Information about whole groups of coins found in Varakhsha has not been published as yet. Beginning with the fifth century A.D. in Central Asia silver coins were minted which were imitation of the Sasanid coins of Peroz I (459-484 A.D.). In the valley of Zeravshan large hoards consisting of the coins imitative of Peroz I were found (in each of them several hundreds of coins). At the same time copies of Sasanid coins of Varahran V (420 - 438 A.D.) were in circulation. Later they became the main coins in circulation in the Bukharan Sogd. They are usually called "Bukharkhudat drahmas" or "Bukharkhudat coins". Russian orientalist P.I. Lerkh²⁰⁸ devoted a special monograph to these coins. Subsequently they were studied by many numismatists particularly by I. Walker²⁰⁹ and R.N. Fryi.²¹⁰ Linguists have deciphered the legends on these coins. According to Henning, Sogdian inscription contains the expression "Ruler Tsar-of Bukhara".²¹¹ Numismatists have brought out the chronological groups of these coins; these are hypotheses about their territorial character but no final solution has yet been found.

207. Livshits V.A., Lukonin V.G., 1964, pp. 165-167.

208. Lerkh P.I., 1875, 1909.

209. Walker I., 1941.

210. Fryi R.N., 1949, pp. 24-31.

211. Henning W.B., Fryi R.N., 1949, pp. 28-29.

In particular in Samarkand-Sogd local bronze coins with Sogdian legends and two pictures on the front side were in circulation. But the main circulation belonged not to them but to the bronze coins with central square hole which began to be minted from the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. The abundant circulation of this type of coins is proved by the fact that several thousand of them were found during excavations in Penjikent. On the front side of these coins are two signs which form the emblem of the ruler and on the reverse side there is an inscription with the name and title of the ruler. Judged by the weight and size changing in different periods coins of several denominations were issued.

The gold coin, according to written sources, was not really in circulation although in Sogdian inscriptions the term "dinar" can be found signifying the gold coin for serving as a measure of value for some or the other objects.

In the Mug hill documents — drahms — the silver coins are more frequently mentioned. The copper coins have been mentioned only once. It is in sharp contrast with the coins discovered in Penjikent where the bronze coins are in absolute prevalence. In the daily market transactions perhaps the bronze coins were mainly in circulation which testifies to the developed monetary circulation : the bigger deals in business were usually made in silver coins — drahms.

An indication of the economic power of Sogd is the fact that the coins of Sogdian Ikhshids are found in areas far away from its domain.

The Colonial Activities of the Sogdians

The colonial activities of the Sogdians during this period were connected from one side with their trade and economic life and from the other with the common socio-economic processes inside Sogdian society itself.

One of the direction of the Sogdian colonial activity was the Semirechiye. In the first half of the seventh century for Huan-tsan the Semirechiye was the country of Su-li *i.e.* Sogd.²¹² Some events

212. Beal S., 1906, I, p.26.

related to the Sogdian colonisation were reflected in the story of Narshahi about the rebellion of Abruī. In the 11th century Mahmud Kashgari gave the most valuable information about the Semirechiye. The people residing here are called by him "Sogdak". He writes that "these are the people settled in Balasagun, they are from Sogd which is situated between Bukhara and Samarkand. Only they have adopted the dress and customs of the Turks". In the local ethno-linguistic community of Semirechiye, in the 10th-11th centuries, there were many Sogdian elements.²¹³

A.N. Bernshtam compared the data in written sources with archaeological findings and put forward an idea that the Sogdian colonisation of the Semirechiye was implemented by two waves: the first, in the 3rd-5th (or 6th centuries, the second from 7th century, the second wave was carried out in several stages: the second stage was connected with the Arab conquest and military campaigns of the Samanids. He gave a special attention to the fusion of the culture of the Sogdian settlers with the culture of nomads.²¹⁴ In fact, as the further archaeological excavations showed in the Chui valley from the 5th-6th centuries monuments of developed settled life started appearing.²¹⁵ Here undoubtedly the Sogdians who were engaged in handicrafts, trade and also agriculture played a key role. The nomads switching over to a settled life started living in cities.

As in the earlier period, the Sogdian colonies, existed also beyond the borders of Central Asia. Studying this question E.G. Pulleyblank gives the following characteristics (with which we are in agreement "in all respects"): "not only distinguished as traders but also as painters, craftsmen and the followers of new religions, the Sogdians travelled and settled along the trade routes of Central Asia as well as in the deep regions of China and among the nomads of the steppes. Much of it, for example, the great civilising impact of the Sogdians, on the Turks is already known. The same role, as the researcher further points out, the Sogdians played in respect of

213. Bartold V.V. 1964, pp. 466-467.

214. Bernshtam A.N., 1940, pp. 34-43.

215. Kozhemyako P.N., 1959, pp. 168-169.

the Uigurs. After the conquest of Central Asia by the Turks the mutual relations between them and the Sogdians, which already existed earlier²¹⁶, became closer. Their relation were strengthening not only with the Western Turks. A large number of Sogdians lived in the court of the Kagan of the Eastern Turks, in contemporary Mongolia. Moreover, it is evident that the Sogdians established control over the region of Hami after the collapse of the Sui dynasty. Here they preserved their power even later in subordination to the Eastern Turks. In the second quarter of the 7th century under the leadership of Kanyan-tyan, a nobleman from Samarkand, the Sogdians acquired roots in the Lob Nor region having settled in one deserted town and having built here three settlements.²¹⁷ One of these settlements was named after "grapes" (Putaochen) — there was a vine yard²¹⁸ in its centre. According to the census in the middle of the 8th century in the region of Dunhuan, in the Sogdian settlements the immigrants from Samarkand were predominant, followed by the immigrants from Bukhara, Tashkent, Tsao (there were two Tsao — one corresponded with Kabudan and the other with Ustrushan), Tokharistan of Kushan and Maimurg and Kesh.²¹⁹ Sogdians traders, craftsmen, preachers, warriors, military leaders, scholars, etc. — played an important role in the history of Central Asia — from Tibet and Ladakh (inscription of a Samarkand Sogdian Noshfarn has been found there who as he writes, was travelling to Tibet) to Mongolia. As for Eastern Turkestan, many monuments of Sogdian script originate from here which indisputably testify to the role of the Sogdians in the history of this country. The Sogdian element had greatly influenced all aspect of its culture, particularly art.

The Discovery of the Castle on Mug Hill and Excavations of Ancient Panjikent

The significance of archaeological findings and researches are nowhere as relevant as in the study of the early medieval history of

216. Klyashtornyĭ S.G., 1965, pp. 278-281; Klyashtornyĭ S.G., Livshits V.A., 1971, pp. 143-144.

217. Pulleyblank E.G., 1952, pp. 317-354.

218. Pelliot P., 1916, p. 122.

219. Chuguyevskii L.I., 1971.

Sogd. We have already referred more than once to the archaeological materials. Here we propose to dwell in detail on the materials discovered from the castle on the Mug hill and ancient Penjikent.

Local Tajik people from the settlement of Khairabad (presently Aini district) knew from the old times the ancient place which they called Kala-i-Mug, *i.e.*, the castle of Mug or as it is called in the scientific literature “the castle on the Mug hill”. In the beginning of the thirties the residents of this place used to visit this site quite often and in the spring of 1932 a shepherd Jur Ali accidentally found there a knitted basket and a page of silken paper with a script unknown to him. Neither the local nor the Ura-Tiube people could decipher as to what was written there. In the autumn of that year the then district party secretary Abdul Hamid Puloti, who was a zealot of ancient history and culture, learnt about it. He immediately understood the significance of this discovery and sent this document to Dushanbe. It was in 1932, that on the recommendation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the government of the Republic through a resolution of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Tajik Centre of the Academy of Sciences of USSR was established. Its first leader was the world-renowned Orientalist, Academician S.F. Oldenburg. Specialists of the Centre established that the document was written in Uigur or in Sogdian language and in the spring of 1933 a photocopy of this manuscript was handed over to leading Soviet Iranologist A.A. Freiman. He ascertained that this document was a letter written in Sogdian language in Sogdian italics script. The discovery made by a shepherd turned out to be the most significant scientific discovery. The manuscripts of Sogdian script were known considerably earlier (they were found in Eastern Turkestan). In 1932 they were discovered for the first time on the territory of Sogd itself. Sogdian letters from Sogdiana itself excited the scholars!²²⁰

220. I.U. Krachkovskii writes : “In 1932 Iranologists of Leningrad were excited very much. There was a rumour that in Tajikistan some Sogdian manuscripts were found. Until now they were never discovered in Sogdiana itself but only in its colonies in Eastern Turkestan. Meanwhile rumours were becoming strong. They started speaking about traces of some archive discovered on Mug hill on the southern bank of Zeravshan” Krachkovskii I.U., 1945, p. 94.

Sogdian Document from the Mug hill. A Marriage Contract

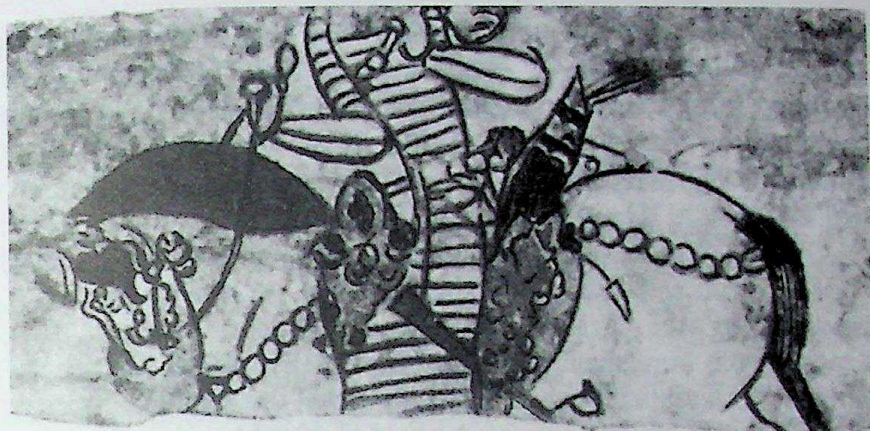
A.A. Freiman arrived in Dushanbe to get acquainted with the document and ascertained the circumstances leading to this discovery. The idea appeared whether there were other manuscripts. On Freiman's advice a group of scholars of the Tajik Centre of the Academy of Sciences of USSR proceeded to the site. The public in Tajikistan impatiently waited for further discoveries. In such an atmosphere in the summer of 1933 A. Puloti organised excavations. Of course, he was not a specialist in archaeology and might have missed something. But his energy and enthusiasm has to be admired. In July more than 20 documents and also some artifacts of material culture were found. The Sovnarkom of the

Tajik Republic adopted a special resolution and allocated the necessary funds for further research.

In the autumn the Academic Secretary of the Tajik Centre A. I. Vasilyev along with an expedition group went to the site. It was then that the scientific excavations of the castle started; A.I. Vasilyev found 21 more manuscripts. At the decision of the leading organs of Tajikistan an entire expedition headed by A.A. Freiman was organised. As a member of this expedition, in November 1933, A.I. Vasilyev carried out excavations in the castle on Mug hill. Later (1947) the castle was fully excavated by V.L. Voronina.

The hill on which the ruins of the castle are located is 80 metre high and is situated on the left bank of the river Zeravshan where a small river Kum falls into it. From three sides this hill is surrounded by river and from the fourth side a steep ascent leads to it. The upper ground was surrounded by a stone wall which made the castle even more inaccessible. On the upper ground are the ruins of the building which once upon a time had two storeys. At the time of excavations only ruins of the lower storey were preserved. The building had the shape of an irregular quadrangle with sides of 18.5 - 19.5 metres. In the lower storey the planning was as follows : four long almost full length of the building narrow rooms and one shorter (the width of these rooms is 1.9 - 2.25 metres) opened towards even more narrow corridor which connected these rooms into a single structure. From the corridor there was an outside exit. The bases of the wall were made of the stone and the upper parts and the domes were made of raw bricks. The castle is not very big. There are no decorations at all and it was meant for military observation and lookout purposes.

During excavations it was revealed that the documents (in all more than 80 and 74 of them are Sogdian) were lying 50-70 centimeter above the ground, in the debris of the collapsed dome. A.I. Vasilyev drew a correct conclusion that the building was initially a two-storeyed one and the documents were preserved on the second floor. During the excavations not only the documents were found but also numerous artifacts of material culture, in all upto 400. There are various items of pottery, highly interesting are knitted items : lids and baskets, etc. These were made skilfully.



**Shield with Picture of a Horse Rider from the
Castle on the Mug hill**

Their technique of knitting and shape is reminiscent of knitted items of Pamir Tajiks. Wooden items deserve separate attention: magnificently chiselled plates, buttons, spade, spoons, rings, etc. One wooden jewellery box having black thin leather covering is of special interest. On its lid there are depictions of their rosettes in the shape of eight-cornered stars which were made in red colour. The wooden shield covered with leather with colourful depiction of a horse and an armed rider is unique. A considerable collection of fabrics consists of cotton, silk and woolen samples. A special place belongs to the laced head nets knitted from cotton threads — magnificent and unique items of ancient Central Asian lace art.²²¹ Among the weapons, besides the above-mentioned shield (perhaps it was not military but ceremonial item), there were wooden sheaths for daggers, iron arrow heads, wooden, cane and combined arrow sticks. Glass items, six coins and remnants of plants have also been found there.

This entire rich collection for the first time gave an idea about the material culture of Sogdians and the epoch-making discovery of written documents which after their decipherment opened the

221. In the Chinese sources there are references to the astonishing textile items brought from Samarkand, translated by E.H. Schafer as "hair brocade" (Schafer E.H., 1963, p. 202) He however, could not specify it exactly. May be these were similar to Mug lace nets for the hair?

prospects of valuable information about history and spiritual culture. As a result of hard work of A.A. Freiman the decipherment of Sogdian manuscripts began; which was to be completed by his followers M.N. Bogolyubov, V.A. Livshits, O.I. Smirnova. The Arabic document was read and commented upon by I.U. and V.A. Krachkovskii.

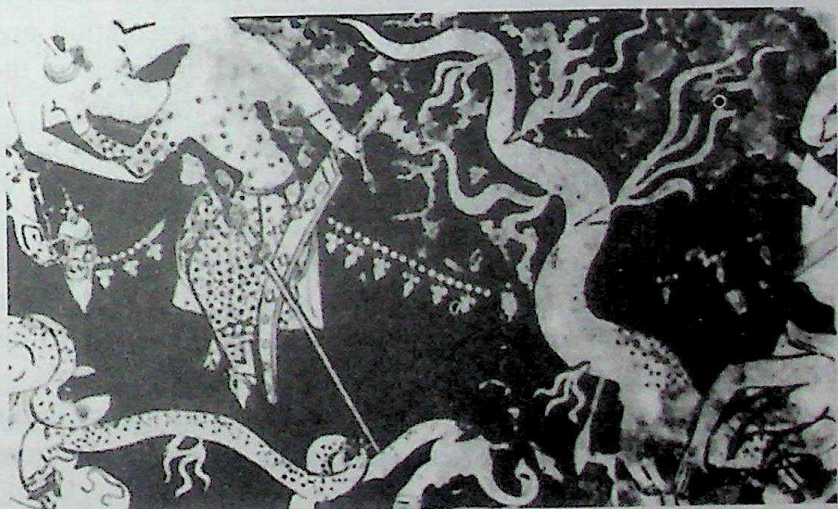
The study of these materials helped in dating exactly the castle on Mug hill and discoveries made there. A leading one was provided by the Arabic document in which V.A. and I.U. Krachkovskii immediately read the name "Divasti" (the Sogdians called it "Devashtich") which is mentioned in the historical sources on conquest of Central Asia by Arabs. I.U. Krachkovskii, ten years after this discovery. He in his book *About the Arab Manuscripts* gave a vivid document wise exact description as to how all this happened. He then makes the following conclusion: "In fact the name Divasti held the key to everything: it not only explained the Arab writing but gave a firm base for deciphering the Sogdian documents. Divasti appeared to be a Sogdian ruler whose archival remnants were found by the expedition to the Mug hill. The name of the Arab ruler to whom he addressed his letter and which was deciphered easily, suddenly gave completely exact date of the document the hundred year of Hijra around 718-719 A.D." In February 1934, in Leningrad at the session of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the report of the expedition to Mug hill the results of this expedition were reported, in particular the first attempts at deciphering the Sogdian manuscripts and the results of reading the Arabic document. These remarks of I.U. Krachkovskii are justified "... this was a triumph — triumph of expedition enriching science with unseen materials — and and of science itself demonstratively speaking of its power which in the eyes of all raised the level of our knowledge to a higher stage".²²² We wish to add that in this triumph the humble shepherd, the Secretary of the District Party, and the leaders of the Republic's organisation and the leading figures of the Soviet Oriental Science also contributed their mite.

All this drew the attention of scholars to the basin of the Upper Zeravshan. At that time in Tajikistan there were no

222. Krachkovskii V.I., 1945, pp. 97-98.

archaeological institutions but there were persons interested in the study of the past of the Republic. One of such enthusiast was an archaeologist V.R. Cheilytko — a man with great energy. In 1934-1937 he studied the basin of upper Zeravshan and in particular carried out small excavations in the settlement of the ancient "Rustemiad" Penjikent. From the scarce newspaper information we cannot get a full idea of these excavations although they have undoubtedly provided interesting results. The existing accounts are lacking exactness. At the same time it may be noted that V.R. Cheilytko correctly determined the significance of the settlement of ancient Penjikent and those perspectives which could be opened during its study : he wrote, "it will bring to light the whole city before the Arab conquest without the traces whatsoever of the later "influences" because the city, after its destruction in the beginning of the 8th century, was not populated. During the excavations the artifacts of art, coin, ceramics were found.

However, a scientific study of Penjikent started only ten years later. In 1946 a large Sogdian – Tajik archaeological expedition was organised. Three institutions took part in it : the Institute of history of material culture of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Tajik branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the State Hermitage. A follower of V.V. Bartold, corres-



Part of the Painting from the Series "Rustemiad" (Penjikent)

ponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.Y. Yakubovskii was appointed as the Chief of this expedition. He was one of the famous Soviet orientalists and archaeologists. He visited Penjikent in 1946 along with a group of co-workers. A detailed examination of the settlement, in the light of information provided in the works of V.R. Cheilytko, led A.Y. Yakubovskii to the conclusion about the need to carry out a big excavation here. The scholar proceeded from the viewpoint that "the ancient Penjikent did not know life during the Muslim period." Yakubovskii hoped to get materials on the conditions prevailing in Central Asian cities before the Arab conquest. He brought the study of ancient Penjikent out of the narrow streets and deadends on to the highway of Soviet scholarship. Until his death (1953) Yakubovskii headed the archaeological excavations in Penjikent. Afterwards these excavations were carried out under the leadership of M.M. Diakonov (died in 1954), and since 1954 they were conducted by A.M. Belinitskii.

The ruins of ancient Penjikent are situated 60 km to the east of Samarkand on the outskirts of the contemporary city of Penjikent. Here on the high river terrace of Zeravshan the ancient settlement is situated. Here before excavations there were agricultural dry lands. On the terrace there was a city wall with towers. Climbing on it one could see an uneven surface of the settlement: mounds, hillocks alternating with depression of different orientation and size. This is the main territory of the city which is called in the terminology of the later sources "Shahristan". Its area is 19 hectares with a circumference of 1750 metres. Only in the north and the east the walls are straight. In other places, according to relief of the locality, they have an uneven contour. To the west of "Shahristan" there is a citadel on a raised ground which once upon a time was a part of a single fortification system. It is situated on the hill 30 meters high and is separated from "Shahristan". To the east and south-east of "Shahristan" there were suburban lands — the cradle of cities of trade and crafts of the medieval times. To the south of "Shahristan" there were small hills where excavations revealed a Zoroastrian graveyard.

Shahristan was divided by streets. The width of these city streets is 3-5 metres. They are either parallel to each other or merge together. On the sides of the streets were residential, commercial and trade and handicraft buildings. Thus along one of such streets, which was named as No. 1 and extended upto 100 metres, there were on one side residential blocks XIII and VI and on the other side III, XX, VII and XVI blocks. Each of the blocks consisted of tens of complexes and over hundreds of apartments.

For example, the residential block — III, situated in the north eastern part of the city has the shape of a regular rectangle 190 x 35 metres which is spread from north to south. The western facade in the beginning extends upto 100 metres in the shape of a smooth wall with five openings and one "*aiwan*". The whole block according to O.G. Bolshakov consists of eight complexes each one of which includes 10-15 apartments.²²³ The complexes consist of the apartments on the first floor and sliding pathway leading to the second floor. The centre of the complexes was a large square hall. The complexes were separated from each other by blank walls.

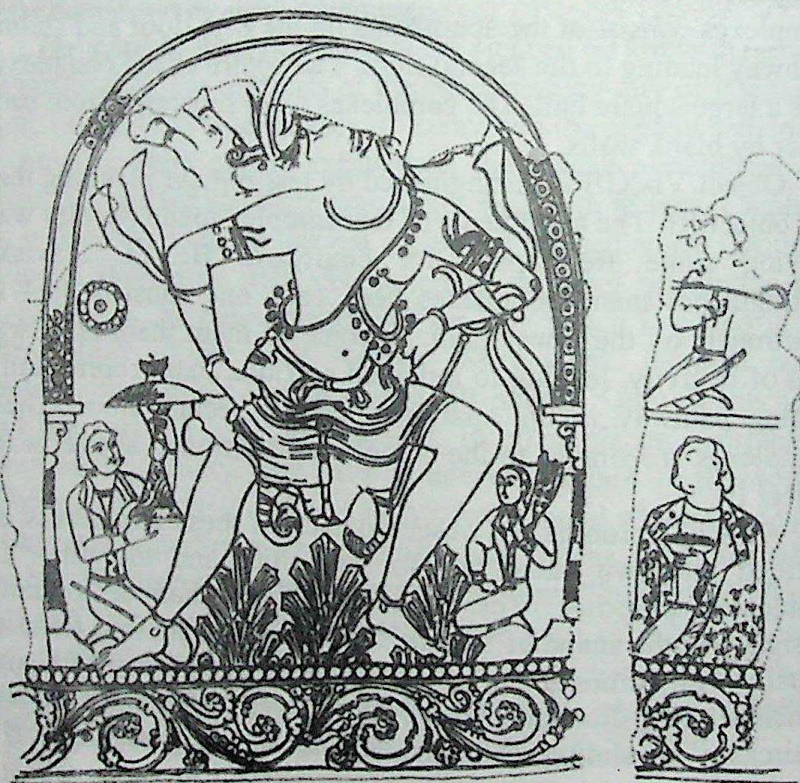
Object VI-XIII is distinguished by less regular planning than the object III. The apartments of this complex touch the city wall leaving some free space for courtyard. B. Ya. Staviskii distinguishes many complexes here, each one consists of 4-10 apartments on the lower floor. In some of them there is a large hall of festivity, leading to a domed corridor, extra rooms and a sliding pathway in the apartment on the second floor. These complexes are similar to the complexes mentioned above in the object III.

As V.L. Voronina has observed each of these complexes are divided into two parts, one for festivities and the other for residential purposes. The richer complexes had an entrance designed in the shape of "*aiwan*". the rooms of the first floor are usually with domes and are very high upto five metres with sofa-couches along the walls. These rooms were dark and badly lit. Staircases or sliding pathways led to the second floor. The

223. V.L. Voronina speaks about 14 sections.

second floors were considerably better lit and bright. It appears they were meant for summer residence. As already mentioned the centre of such complexes was large square shaped halls (with an area average 50-80 square metres). Along the walls there were high sofas and opposite the entrance the sofa had the shape of a broad stage. In these halls there were flat wooden ceilings supported by four columns, but in the centre there was a hole for light. The walls of the halls were covered with paintings and columns with carvings. Here there were carved wooden statues.

Each such section or complex had the residence of a nobleman where there were apartments for residence of the owner and his family members, separate apartments or rooms (sometimes isolated) for servants and for storage and housekeeping, as also a hall for festivities which possibly sometimes served as a guest room “mehmonkhana” of rich Tajik residents of XIX — beginning of XX centuries.



The Penjikent Shiva

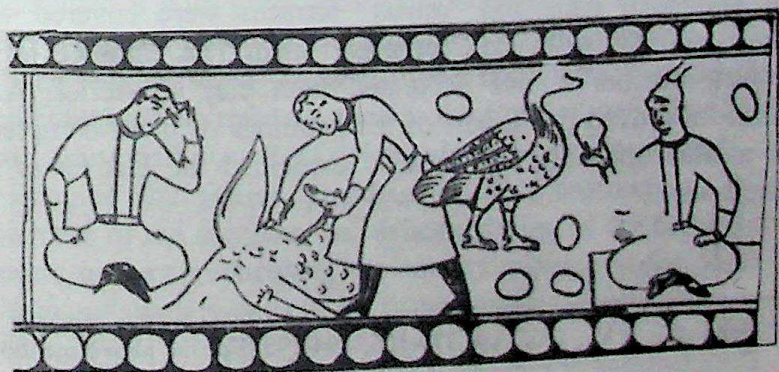
Along with such complexes in these blocks there were others, smaller in area and without halls of festivities blocks for more modest and even poor residents. These were the residences of ordinary urban citizens.

One of the complexes of the object VI has a special planning. It has four festivity rooms including a rectangular hall of festivities (12.7 × 7.9 metres). A hundred dices were found there. Among the paintings in the hall there is a scene depicting play with board and dices. Although it is impossible to fully confirm the guess of V.L. Voronina is that this was some kind of "gambling hall", but the social purpose of the hall is beyond doubt.

The residential blocks were not constructed in the same period. They were expanded and reconstructed many times.

During the later years it became possible to ascertain the purpose of the isolated apartments (sometimes consisting of two parts) with direct exit to the city streets. On the excavated territory of four streets the number of such apartments was more than forty. In some of the rooms furnaces and pieces of iron fire places with slagged walls and other traces of productive activity have been found. Many coins have been discovered from these rooms. A.M. Belinitskii considers them as workshops or shops or both at the same time.

One of such complexes is built close to the rich residence and consists of the square facing rooms with exits to it. Along them there is a shed. Bazars were sprawling along the city streets. As in the developed medieval period they united trade and production.



Painting Illustrating the Tower with the Bird which laid the Golden Eggs (Penjikent)

In the words of A.M. Belinitiskii, "the later excavations radically changed the ideas about the city's street network. Before us there is a regular network of straight streets dividing construction into comparatively limited blocks. Undoubtedly there were areas different in size".²²⁴ In the northern part of the settlement there is a large depression — a square. To the west of it there are two hills which happened to be the constructions of "the adjacent to each other, public buildings which are called temples; (1) the southern, (2) and northern. The temple complexes consisted of two parts : the temple itself and the fence including many auxiliary residential and household premises. The temple building of the complex number 2 is situated in the centre of the courtyard surrounded on all sides by the fence of the apartments (the size of the courtyard 75-80 metres from East to the West, 60 metres from North to the South), and in the complex number 1 the courtyard is situated on eastern side.

The temple rooms are on a platform and are at a raised level in comparison to the courtyard. Entering inside, the visitor could see a portico terrace with six columns in a single axis with the gate, (its length on the front is approximately 21 metres). Beyond it in the depth there is a four-column square room like an "*aiwan*" with opening to the courtyard, that is, to the east (7.85×8.1 metres in one temple and 8.1×10.3 metres in the other). From there one could enter a small rectangular sanctuary. On the sides and from behind the main building was surrounded by a round-about gallery which was linked with the portico-terrace. The walls of the central four columned halls and "*aiwan*" terraces were covered with murals, perhaps, with clay sculptures also. The entrance to the complex number 2 was decorated with clay bas-relief. A.M. Belinitiskii proved that a part of the paintings of these complexes had a ritual meaning and he also explained the history of the complexes.

224. Belinitiskii A.M., 1956, pp. 179-106; 194-195. For the above mentioned characterisation of excavations in Shaharistan besides this the materials published by the leaders and participants of the excavations (Belenitskii A.M., 1958; Bollshakov O.G. 1964; Voronina V.L. 1958, 1964; Staviskii B. Ya., 1964b ; Raspopova V.I., 1971 and others have been used.



A Carved Wooden Panel from Penjikent

Even in ruins the buildings of the temples leave a great impression. The architect having put before him a certain task implemented it with great skill. Overlooking the square the rich portico opens the view of the central building of the temple.

“The temple raised on the platform dominates over the space of the courtyard, completely open to the sight of the visitor by the broad sliding pathway, light colonnade and splendid hall, one can imagine the festive grandeur of the construction — the shapeliness of the columns, the delicate design of the carving and sculpture in the symphony of the colours, playing in the depth of the “*aiwans*”, widely open to the rising sun.”²²⁵

225. Voronina V.L. 1957, p.131. For a detailed description of the excavations of the temples and discoveries made there see : Belinitskii A.M.; 1950b; 1958, pp. 105 and 113.

All these excavations opened the upper layer of Shahrستان which belongs to the 7th-8th centuries (the earlier periods are not fully studied yet).

This was the period of golden age of the city. It was disrupted by the Arab invasion. In some parts there are traces of big fire — most probably 722 A.D. but it is not excluded that it happened a little later (before 738-731 A.D.).

Approximately in 738-740 A.D. the city started recovering. But afterwards in the seventies of the 8th century possibly because of the revolt of Mukanna, Penjikent was again destroyed by Arab troops and this time life in Shahrستان and Rabad ceased completely.²²⁶

In some parts the lower layers have also been studied. It appears that both the citadel and Shahrستان surrounded by the wall came into existence in 5th-beginning of the 6th centuries. It was the period when the city grew and prospered.²²⁷

Simultaneously A.I. Terenozhkin started excavations of the citadel. Later young archaeologist A. Isakov successfully worked here.

They established that the citadel consists of "Donzhon" with the square adjacent to it and the lower tier of construction facing Shahrستان. It was here that the complex of festive houses was found including huge halls with sofas and stages for performance by artists. The central place is occupied by a huge hall of festivity (10 × 12.5 metres) with balconies. A distinguishing feature of its planning is the three tiered square which rises upto the entrance of the balcony. The wooden parts of the base of the throne have been found. The building is decorated with exquisite wall paintings which have been damaged by fire. It is quite likely that these are the ruins of the palace of Devashtich.²²⁸

The suburban territory occupies 20-25 hectares. Here there were no dense constructions but only individual country estates were located. In 1951-1953, 9 farm houses were excavated before

226. Bolshakov O.G., 1964, pp. 118-120.

227. Belinitiskii A.M., 1967, pp. 8-9; Marshak B.I., 1964.

228. Terenozhkin A.I., 1950 a; Staviskii B.Ya., 1950; Isakov A., 1971.

the excavation of the hillocks. One of such hillocks, standing isolated, is of the size 22×16 metres with height of 2.5 metres.

The excavations explained the planning. The house included, besides the entrance lobby, three other rooms, corridor and a slanting pathway. The rooms are well preserved. In the remote room wine pressing equipment has been found from which one can draw the conclusion that the family residing in this farm house was engaged in wine making. In other houses lived the owners of the farm houses : in one such house cattle were kept. In some places, several metres from the residential house “*nauses*” — tombs are found where the residents of the suburbs buried their dead.²²⁹

The city necropolis was located less than half a kilometre from the walls of Shahrستان. Here one can count upto 70 hillocks (initially there were two-three times more). Thirty of them were excavated. These were “*nauses*” where the vessels with the bones of the dead were kept. These are small cells with arch-shaped entrance (after the burial the entrance was closed). The inner area of the cell is usually 4-5 square metres but it goes upto 10 square metres. Along the walls there are “*sufas*” on which the vessels with the bones of the dead were placed.²³⁰

In the process of excavation rich materials on the art of construction and architecture, art and various aspects²³¹ of handicrafts were discovered.

Samarkand, Varaksha and other Urban Settlements

The capital of Sogd was Samarkand. The city was situated on the site of the settlement of Afrasiab.²³² The territory of this settlement

229. Bolshakov O.G., and Negmatov N.N., p. 195; Vornina V.L., 1958, pp. 203-209.

230. Voronina V.L., 1957, pp. 133-135; Staviskii B. Ya. and others 1953.

231. Detailed description of the ‘excavations and discovered’ materials are available in the published works of A.U. Yakubovskii, M.M. Diakonov, A.M. Belinitiskii and others.

232. V.A. Livshits is of the opinion that the initial Sogdian name of Afrasiab was “*Parshavap*” (literally meaning “on the black river”), which afterwards began to be pronounced in the Tajik as Parsiab, and in subsequent centuries got changed to Afrasiab” — Livshits V.A., 1965, p. 5.

is 219 hectares. Archaeological excavations in Afrasiab were carried out by N.I. Veselovskii, V.V. Bartold, V.L. Viatkin. The basis of contemporary knowledge of Afrasiab was laid by the excavations of A.I. Terenozhkin. The broad archaeological studies of Afrasiab, conducted since 1958 with Uzbek archaeologists under the leadership of V.A. Shishkin and Ya. G. Gulyamov, led to first rate discoveries. But many questions related to the history of Samarkand of the 6th-8th centuries have remained unclear till now.

A. I. Terenozhkin is of the opinion that it was the golden age of Samarkand.²³³ In the northern part of the city the citadel was situated and in the south — Shahrstan. In that period a grown up city was surrounded in the south by two rows of walls (the perimeter of the wall was about two kilometres); in the north the precipice of the Siab river served as the border. The walls were parallel to each other at a distance of 8-10 metres, the inner wall was more strong and the towers were situated in chess board order. This two-row wall (it is also called second) included in the protected city — territory the suburbs of the preceding period that is 4th-5th centuries. But in the 6th-7th centuries, after the two-row wall, was built the city-territory again spread far beyond its fortification. The city was growing towards the south in the direction of the main canal.

Thus Samarkand of 6th-8th centuries was strongly fortified. It is clear that the existence of a two-row wall raised the effectiveness of the city's fortification considerably. The southern gate of the two-row wall was built at a great distance between the two walls. At this place both the lines were connected by semi-circled straight archs so that the enemy entering from the outside gate was trapped in a semi-circular space and which could be fired from all sides. The eastern gates were even more strongly fortified : here from outside there were two towers and from inside there was a²³⁴ wall with camouflaged passage.

In 1965 approximately in the centre of the settlement of Afrasiab beyond the limits of the second city wall one big

233. Terenozhkin A.I., 1950b, p. 161. see also: Masson M.E., 1950, pp. 160-161. (In Samarkand "one can notice the achievement of well-being").

234. Pachos M.K., 1967; see also 1966.

architectural complex was dug out. In some places the fragments of paintings were preserved. In one of the halls burnt-down beams were found with traces of carved ornaments and badly preserved figures. Particularly interesting are the halls of festivities with paintings.²³⁵

One of the biggest centres of Bukharan Sogd was the Varakhsha settlement. Its excavations were conducted by V.A. Shishkin in 1938-39 and 1949-54 period. The main part of the Varakhsha settlement is a hillock which is like a triangle. Its area is about 9 hectares, height around 10 metres. The citadel rises 9.5 metres (initially it was rising 30 metres above the surrounding locality). It was a huge construction (with the sides 31 metres high), raised on a brick platform. To the west of the citadel there was the palace of *Bukhar-Khudats*. This palace consisted of a whole series of buildings of different sizes enclosed in the west by a huge open throne hall. The festive rooms were located in a row. Some of them were quite large. The walls of many of the rooms in the palace were covered by magnificent carved stucco ornaments and beautiful theme paintings. Opposite the palace rose the temple buildings. In northern, eastern and western parts of Varakhsha were houses of residents of the city.²³⁶

Among the other cities of the Bukharan oasis Paikend may be noted. Its area was 20 hectares. It had strong city fortifications, including a citadel.²³⁷ The cities of Kafir Kala²³⁸ and upper horizon of Tal-i-Barzu²³⁹ were among the settlements of the Samarkand region.

In the valley of the upper Zeravshan, thanks to the excavations lasting several years conducted by B. Ya. Staviskii, many settlements and castles have been studied. For example, 12 kilometres from the castle on the Mug hill, near the village of Madm B. Ya. Staviskii and Y. Yakubov studied in the settlement of Gardon-i-Hisor the big palace type building situated on the top of the hill. It was destroyed by fire. The main palace building

235. Shishkin V.A., 1966; Albaumb L.I., 1971.

236. Shishkin V.A., 1963; Nilsen V.A., 1966, pp. 35-36.

237. Yakubovskii A.U., 1940, pp. 51-64; Nilsen V.A., 1966, p. 17.

238. Shishkina G.V., 1961; Nilsen V.A., 1966; pp. 23-25.

239. Grigoriev B.Ya, 1940 a

included more than ten different rooms including a large festive hall, home sanctuary, etc. Here excellent samples of carving on wood were found. Many monuments were studied in the valley of Magian. In all, in the region of upper Zeravshan more than 50 early medieval monuments have been excavated.²⁴⁰

As the works of S.K. Kabanov have revealed, many large urban settlements existed in the early medieval times in the southern Sogd — the basin of the Kashka Daria river.

Construction Works

In the preceding section we have already dealt with many questions related to the construction of buildings. The main material for construction of walls in the medieval Sogd as well as in the entire Central Asia was *pakhsa* (mud blocks) and rectangular raw bricks of large size (often $50-52 \times 25-26 \times 10-12$ centimetres). Burnt bricks were used rarely, mostly in the making of floors, etc. For supporting construction wooden columns were used. Wood was widely used in flat ceilings also.

The walls were so thick that there was hardly any need for foundation. Only few examples of foundation have been found. In Varakhsha, under the columns of the throne hall, a foundation of burnt and raw bricks (approximately two metre deep) was built. In Penjikent sanctuary also a foundation was discovered. Floors were made of mud *adobe* and were thickly plastered. Some times the floor was built of raw and burnt bricks (for example in Penjikent and Varakhsha). In mountainous localities, for making floors, stone was used.

In constructions four types of walls can be seen: mud, bricks, combination of mud and brick, and combined brick-mud work. The average thickness of brick walls was 1-1.6 metres.

The rooms were connected with each other by passages which usually had overhead arches of several types. Arches were made of raw bricks. There were wooden doors, sometimes double. They were made the same way as the pre-revolution Tajik dwelling : on the two corners of the doors there were wooden angles revolving

240. Staviskii B. Ya., 1957 a; 1961b; 1961c, 1964a.

in the holes of the upper and lower parts of the doors. Narrow rectangular rooms with a length of about 3 metres were covered by domes of raw bricks usually made according to the technique of "slanted pieces" used in the ancient East. Small square rooms were covered with domes. For example, one room of the size 4.3×4.3 metres with a dome ceiling was found in Afrasiab. Larger rooms had wooden ceilings supported by columns and pillars. Thus in the square residential halls of the Penjikent complexes four central columns were used. They were connected by well-shafts and girders were laid on the walls also. As for the central square, it was made the same way as the present day Pamir dwellings "Ruzan". It is made from the gradually narrowing row of logs which are laid at the angle of 45 degrees to each other. At the centre there was a hole for light.

In the rooms, judged by the burnt ruins, there were perhaps spacious wooden seats reminding the ethnic Tajik "cot" and others seats similar to "takhta"²⁴¹.

The furniture pieces are known from the depictions in the wall paintings.

Paintings

The monuments of Sogdian paintings are found in Penjikent, Varakhsha and Samarkand.

In Penjikent wall paintings were found in sixty buildings. This large number shows how widely spread the monumental art was in the life of the Sogdians. It should be kept in mind that what has come down to us is only the bare crumbs of the past riches.

The first publications on the discoveries of Penjikent paintings were by A.Y. Yakubovskii, M.M. Diakonov, A.M. Belinskii. A.Y. Yakubovskii paid main attention to the general historical significance of the discovery of these paintings. M.M. Diakonov concentrated on their stylistic peculiarities and A.M. Belinskii dealt with the interpretation of their subject. The paintings discovered during the last 15 years have been published (though not in full as yet) by A.M. Belinskii.

241. Voronina V.L., 1964, pp. 78-87.

Many of the gala halls had walls upto 100 sq.metres and more in area which were covered by paintings in several tiers. Their subjects are extremely varied. Very frequently the depictions reproduce some epic tales. Thus in the hall number 41 of the object 6 approximately 40 square metres of paintings which were preserved on the full height of the walls were discovered. The walls were divided by horizontal tiers separated from each other by borders. In one of the parts there are four tiers and the second tier from below has been preserved better than the others. On the blue background changing from one wall to another a single composition is spread. Its length is around 15 metres (half of the perimetre of the walls). This is how A.M. Belinitskii describes it : "the composition consists of six separate scenes, the main hero of which is one and the same person — the warrior horse rider on the dark red horse. In the first episode we see him at the head of group clad in the robes of the horse riders proceeding on a military campaign. In the second episode our hero is depicted as throwing the spear in the direction of the enemy at full speed who was also a horse rider. In the third episode at the moment of fighting he is shown with a snake like monster — dragon. Then the horse rider is again going at the head of a group of warriors. The dragon is lying slain at the feet of the horses of his companions. The fifth episode depicts the hero fighting with the enemy, also a horse rider while his companions fight with a large group of demons. And the last episode depicts our hero fighting with another a warrior, a horse rider". The monster in the third and fourth episode has a long spiral torso of a snake with the upper portion of a woman and head of a lioness. Perhaps it had wings also. The old Tajiks would have called this monster as "azhdahor". From the wounds of the monster the fire is raging. The demons — "devas" have human torsos and heads, furious faces, horns of goats and oxes and legs of goats. Two demons are fighting on the chariot.

A.M. Belinitskii has found the depiction of this composition similar to the legend of the epic about Rustum. In the *Shahnama*, in the series of stories about the deeds of Rustum, is mentioned specially the fight of Rustum with dragon, his combat with the hero Avlad whom Rustum takes a prisoner with the help of a rope,

about his victory over two "devas". A.M. Belinitskii cites the Sogdian text which also narrates the fight of Rustum with "devas", as an explanation.²⁴² A.M. Belinitskii also considers the depiction of battle scenes in which women warriors take part in an epic painting. Central Asian women warriors, in fact, took part in battles in the ancient times and authors of antiquity have excerpts in their writings about the astounding deeds of Tomiris, Zarina and other women. These deeds became the basis of the eastern Iranian legends and epics which were later reproduced in the monuments of art. The echoes of such legends were preserved in the *Shahnama* also.²⁴³

There are many depictions connected to cults and various cult rituals. Here there is a scene of bemoaning of a dead boy whom A.Y. Yakubouskii suggested that he be compared with the legendary Central Asian hero Siyavush (there are some other interpretations also). We can also refer to the depiction of the four-armed goddess in which Belinitskii and other researchers see the depiction of Nana (Nanaia). It is typical that on the coins of Penjikent rulers her name is found : obviously the ruling house of Penjikent revered this deity. The cult of heavenly bodies also found its reflection in Penjikent paintings.

Many wall paintings reflect different subjects of folklore and fables about the animal epics. Belinitskii writes about them as follows : "An example is served by the scene of the release by the hero of a girl from the tree in which she was imprisoned obviously by somebody's witchcraft. The same is the origin of the subject, known till present times, from the popular fairy tale about "The Bird of Happiness" which entered the world folklore. Of particular interest is the small painting in which a hare's wisdom is depicted in making the lion jump into a well saving other animals from his tyranny. This colourful painting is an exact illustration of one of the parables from the Indian collection *Panchtantra*²⁴⁴.

242. Belinitskii A.M., Staviskii B.Ya. 1959, pp. 62-68; Belinitskii A.M., 1967 p. 23.

243. Belinitskii A.M., 1960.

244. Belinitskii A.M., 1967, pp. 24-25.

There are many different scenes and subjects taken by the artist from the life well-known to him. The battle scenes astonish with their complexity and variety. Often the feasts of the nobility are depicted. There are subjects from everyday life of other type also : the table play of the “nard” type, wrestling sport, etc; architectural decor is also there.

Specialists differentiate the several styles of the Penjikent paintings and discover chronological layers.²⁴⁵ One cannot but feel the astonishing harmony of the Penjikent paintings, the captivating beauty of many depictions. The grace and inner repose of the harp player picking the strings of her instrument thoughtfully evokes admiration. Or the other scenes are male and female horse riders. We do not know where they are going and what the noble Sogdian and his female companion are talking about. But this couple also leads us into the world of artistic characters so distant from us and at the same time close to us.

The wall paintings of Varakhsha are also extremely interesting and significant. In the Red Hall of the Palace of Varakhsha, above the “sufas”, there is a panel of paintings. It contains a single composition : on equal distance there is a group of elephants with people sitting on them. Monsters (sometimes they are orange coloured lions) or white-winged griffins with wings attack the elephants from different sides. In the eastern hall the paintings are quite different. On one of the walls is depicted a cavalcade of horse riding warriors. The centre of the other composition is the huge figure of the king on the throne, the legs of which are decorated with the depictions of winged camels. To the left and right there are depictions of many figures and altar. Remnants of paintings have been found in the other rooms of the palace, also.²⁴⁶

As already mentioned a building was dug out in Afrasiab with magnificent paintings. In one of the halls on the walls there is the depiction of an arch with the sitting figures of a man and woman.

245. Besides the above-mentioned works see some of the main works : *The Paintings of Ancient Penjikent, Collection of Articles*, Moscow 1954; *Sculpture and Paintings of Ancient Penjikent, collection of Articles*, Moscow 1959.

246. Shishkin V.A., 1963, pp. 160-165.



Painting on the Wall of the Palace of Varakheha

In the other gala hall (11 × 11 metres) is one of the central rooms. On its eastern wall a scene is painted which is connected with the water element (blue waves and people, birds and fishes, etc. swimming). On the southern wall there is a depiction of some procession going towards the castle where on its square people are standing. The procession itself is a big artistic composition showing riders on elephants, camels and horses. In the front there is a white elephant on which some important person is sitting on a palanquin: the princess or the queen and on the crupper of the elephant beyond the palanquin her maid servant is sitting. Three women on horse back are seen following the elephant. On the hand of the first woman there is a brief inscription in the Sogdian language: "close to the Madam". Two armed men on camel back are following them. They are carrying batons in their hands. Four white birds (geese) accompanied by two men with closed mouth and at last the huge figure of a rider two times bigger than the rest. Perhaps it is bringing of the bride (the figure

on the elephant is bride, the huge figure of the horse rider is the head of the embassy). On the other wall is the scene of receiving the ambassador — men of different ethnic appearance.²⁴⁷ On the robe of one of the figures there is a Sogdian inscription about Chaganiyan embassy (for its text see page 251-252). These Afrasaib paintings are the first rate production of the art of the masters of the capital. They have been splendidly executed in an extremely bright range of colours.

The wall paintings of the early medieval times of Sogd are undoubtedly significant as the monuments of the art of their times. We have already mentioned about other aspects of their significance : in essence this is the real though not complete encyclopaedia of life and ideology of the Sogdians. It is not to be forgotten that the language of this encyclopaedia in the art characters, cannot be interpreted in a simple and indisputable way.

Immediately after the first discovery of the Penjikent paintings M.M. Diakonov pointed out that their significance is far beyond the culture of Sogd and Central Asia taken together. He rightly considered that now it would be possible to trace “the Central Asian current” in the art of Eastern Turkestan (its monuments were discovered at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century as a result of the excavations of Russian, German, French, British and Japanese expeditions), and also to determine chronologically its separate groups, till now not definitely dated in total.²⁴⁸

M.M. Diakonov himself pointed to several Sogdian — Central Asian elements in the art of Eastern Turkestan. The observations of Italian scholar M. Bussagli are interesting and convincing who went further in the working out of the question about the influence of Central Asian art on the Eastern Turkestan (broader Central Asian).²⁴⁹

247. Shishkin V.A., 1966, pp. 14-22; Albaum L.I., 1971.

248. Diakonov M.M., 1954 a, pp. 89-90.

249. Bussagli M., 1963, pp. 42-51.

However it should be acknowledged that this most interesting and noble theme has only been touched upon by the scholars; here a vast field for research is opening up.

Sculpture, Music and Dance

In Sogdian art along with painting, a considerable place was occupied by sculpture. For the material it used mud, alabaster, and wood. In Penjikent a monumental mud sculpture was found. It was used for decoration of the "aiwan" in the 2nd temple complex. Here along the walls there was a panel with length about 8 metres. This is a unique river view. On the relief background of the wavy water surface are depicted beautiful animals, fishes and human-like figures. At the centre of one of the walls there is a human-like figure coming out from the water. The fishes and fantastic elements are moving in the direction of this figure. At the centre of the panel, of the third wall, a human-like figure is painted, the torso of which is like two wavy tails. Here there is also a monster with open jaws. One may agree with A.M. Belinitiskii that this relief and the creatures depicted on it personified the water element, concretely Zeravshan the Greek name of which "Politimet" meant "much revered" and Sogdian "Namik" was connected with the meaning "to glorify".

In Penjikent there was also a magnificent wooden sculpture. These are the figures of the dancing girls, the size of which is three-fourth of their natural size. Nude upto waist these figures are made in complex posture. The left hand is on the hip, the right leg is bent in the knee and thrown over the straight left leg. The necklaces, laces with bells, complex robes of the lower part of the body — all these were in great harmony with the stretched slender figure.²⁵⁰ One recalls unwittingly the following verse of a poet who, captivated by Central Asian dancing girls, exclaimed :

Dancer, O dancer!
The heart beats in consonance with strings
The hands are subdued to the drum!
The strings and drums are calling

250. Belinitiskii A.M., 1959, pp. 78-86.

And both the arms are raised in the air
 Like the snow flakes spiralling in a blizzard, dancing.
 Turning to the left, spinning to the right
 Tirelessly, thousands of circles
 Tens of thousands of rotations
 There is no end to it.
 Nothing to compare in the human and animal world,
 The wheels of speeding carriage are slow
 The blizzard lags behind.²⁵¹

The Penjikent figures of dancers are a vivid representation of those charmers of the dance whom the foreigners called "girls circling like whirlwind". The dancers from Chach, Kumed, Kesh, Maimurg and particularly Samarkand were famous. Clad in crimson dresses with brocade sleeves, wearing green designed trousers and shoes made from reindeer skin — they were extremely graceful in their swift dance movements sometimes performed on a ball. When the dance reached its culmination the blouse was thrown away and the audience could see the semi-nude body of the dancer. The rhythm of the dance was so swift that it appeared to the poet: "One more moment and the dancer will fly up in the sky like a cloud and reach the sun".²⁵² The Penjikent sculpture, it appears, depicts the moment of the apogee of the dance.

The inhabitants of Sogd and the neighbouring lands were famous not only for their high culture of dance but also for music. The names of ten Bukharan musical instruments are known. There existed melodies for songs and dance. Some dances and songs were performed individually and others collectively. Bukhara was also famous for its stage actors. The puppet theatre came to China from Central Asia in the 7th century.

Let us come back to the carved wooden reliefs of Penjikent. Geometrical and botanical ornamental friezes which decorated the walls of the buildings, the columns and girders of the ceilings were covered with carvings.²⁵³ Carved wooden panels were discovered by B.Ya. Staviskii and U. Yakubovskii in Madma.²⁵⁴

251. Riftin B.L., 1960, p. 128.

252. Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 55-56.

253. Voronina V.L., 1959.

254. Belinskii A.M., 1962.



Early Medieval Terracottas from Samarkand

For the palace in Varakhsha, the presence of big wall surfaces covered with alabaster decor is characteristic. On the walls a layer of alabaster was laid from 1.5 to 20 cm in thickness. Carving then changed it into an ornamental panel. The motives of ornamentation were varied. Sometimes it was simple geometrical design herringbone rows of simple triangle, squares etc. connected with each other in different ways. The squares with the rosettes inserted in them, star-like design, combination of botanical and geometrical designs all these compositions included big ornamental circles. There are many developed botanical elements and frequently can be seen in the grape plant particularly. In the compositions reflecting the scenic character were included two and three metre high trees with thick trunks, branches and leaves which were modelled clearly and in detail showing even the knots on the trunks. In these scenic compositions some place was occupied by ponds with fishes swimming in it. On the background of the scenery are scenes where the people, animals and birds are depicted. The scenes of hunting of the goat "arhar" with curled horns, wild boars and deers are shown. The horse riders are seated on the horses which are depicted in their natural size. Some of the horses are with wings. There are many mythological creatures, particularly interesting is the depiction of a woman-bird. The image of woman-bird is met in Central Asian artifacts even

considerably later in medieval and also in our times (the image of the woman-bird was engraved even recently on the snuff boxes in Samarkand). Multi-planned carving, boldness and rich style are combined here with some kind of sketchiness and generalisation which corresponds with the monumental character of the whole decoration.²⁵⁵

Sogdian Script and Literature

As already mentioned the Sogdian script is of Arameian origin. During the period under study the Sogdian script was italic type. In practice in all 18-19 signs of alphabet were used and some words were expressed through ideograms. In 1965 in the citadel of Penjikent, archaeologist A. Isakov, found the Sogdian script for the first time in history. On the walls of Khum were written letters and exercises for writing words. The alphabet consists of 23 letters — this is the full set of signs of Arameian alphabet including those which were not used in practice. Now it is clear why Huan-tsan mentioned “20 odd” number of signs, but not 18-19 which were in fact in use: his information was obtained from some literate Sogdian who told him about the theoretical number of signs which literate people used. In different regions of Central Asia Sogdian script was somewhat different; for example Bukharan and Samarkand Sogdian scripts were different from each other.²⁵⁶

The monuments of Sogdian script were first of all found in East Turkestan. They were written in Syrian, Manichaen and in third alphabet which was very close though not identical with Uigur alphabet. All these texts were written in one language. In some of them there were, calendar terms identical to those which Biruni in his work, “The Monuments of the Past Generations” called Sogdian. It enabled to identify the language of the above-mentioned monuments with Sogdians and the third alphabet turned out to be Sogdian itself.²⁵⁷

255. Shishkin V.A., 1963.

256. For exact translation of this place Pulleyblank E.G. 1984, p.48: see also: Beal S., 1906, pp.26-27 (“30 or about 30”).

257. Gauthiot R., 1914-1923; Benveniste E., 1929; Livshits B.A., 1966.

The materials of Yagnob language²⁵⁸ helped in deciphering these texts.

For the first time information about Yagnob language was obtained in 1870 during the trip to Yagnob of Russian Orientalist A.L. Kunand; Mirza Mulla Abdur Rahman had accompanied him. Later information about this language was gathered by Sh. Akimbetov, E.F. Kal and G. Malitskii, K.G. Zaliman and others. Among the Soviet scholars studying the language of the Yagnobans on the site may be mentioned the names of M.S. Andreyev, E.M. Peshchereva, S.I. Klimchitskii and L.A. Hetagurov, M.N. Bogoliubov and A.L. Khromov. Foreign linguists also visited Yagnob, among them were R. Gavthiot and G. Junker. The names of German Iranologist V. Geiger and French scholar A. Benvenist may also be mentioned. The grammar of the Yagnob language was studied. This language turned out to be an East Iranian language which was developed on the basis of one of the dialects of the Sogdian language. A considerable part of its vocabulary goes back to the Sogdian lexicon. The preservation of the relics of the new Sogdian language in the inaccessible mountainous valley of Yagnob rendered invaluable assistance in study of the monuments of the Sogdian script.²⁵⁹

We have written above about the Sogdian alphabet from Penjikent. It proves the existence of special exercises for those who learnt to read and write. The text books in Sogdian language were found in Central Asia and in Merv also. In the citadel of

258. The Yagnobans are a small people living in the mountains of Central Tajikistan mainly on the banks of river Yagnob (a tributary of Fan Daria which in turn falls into Zeravshan). The number of the Yagnobans was very small. In the last quarter of the 19th — beginning of 20th century lived 1250-1400 people. According to more precise calculation, at the beginning of the thirties, the number of Yagnobans (in Yagnob) reached 2150 people. At present there are more than 3000 Yagnobans. Besides Yagnob they lived in some other places, also in particular in the villages of upper Verzob. Now a days some Yagnobans speak in Tajik language and others (about 2500) are bilingual.

259. About the Yagnobans and their language in particular see: Zaleman K.G., 1888 : Geiger W., 1901, Mallitskii N.G., 1924; Andreyev M.S., 1928; Klimchitskii S.I., 1940b; 1940a; Bogoliubov M.N., 1956; Andreyev M.S. and Peshchereva E.M., 1957; Khromov A.L., 1966b; 1966a; 1968.

Merv, A.A. Marushchenko found two Arab alphabets, both with Arab texts and written exercises in Middle Persian (Pahlevian) and Sogdian languages.

Perhaps these are the remnants of Dabiristan — the school of Iranian scribes of the 8th century where student studied Arab, Middle Persian and Sogdian scripts which continued to play a significant role in international interaction.²⁶⁰

As is evident from the Mug documents, in Sogd there were professional scribes of very high qualification, many of the documents were written in excellent italics. Sometimes, at the end of the document was written “so and so has written on the order of so and so”. For example a scribe by the name Aspanak Devgon is famous. One of the best scribes in Samarkand Sogd of the beginning of the 8th century was Ramtish, the son of Vashfarn — a “marriage contract” is written in his calligraphic handwriting.

The Mug documents have brought to us the business correspondence of the Sogdians : legal documents, letters and business correspondence.

Huan-tsan has noted that in Sogd “there is some literature (several versions are possible : some historical chronicles” or else “they have books and historical chronicles”).²⁶¹

In fact, the Sogdians had a vast literature : spiritual and secular. Thus, works of Sogdian Buddhist literature are written in Sogdian script. The most significant is the translation in Sogdian language of “Vessantara-Jatak”. The existence of parallel texts of this Jatak in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese languages enabled A. Benvenist, one of the top most expert on Sogdian language, to fully read the Sogdian text of this Buddhist work. The Sogdian text contains 1513 lines (some pages at the beginning and some lines at the end are not preserved).

The contents of the Jatak are as follows : A long-awaited son was born to the king who was named as Sudashan. When he grew up he was married to a beautiful girl and they had two children. For one sin of the prince the father sent him into exile on a deserted mountain where wild animals and demons — cannibals

260. Pevzner, S.B., 1954; Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp. 67-68.

261. Beal S., 1906, p.27.

lived. His wife with children joined him though the prince did not want it. They began their travel. On the way the prince, who was famous for his generosity (because of this all his problems began), gives away all his belongings. His wife and children travel on foot through the desert. The Supreme God, taking pity on them, created a fabulous palace for them. Having rested for sometime the prince declined to stay there in order not to defy the order of his father and again started his journey. He reached the place of exile and built a hut there from branches of a tree and began to reside there. Sudashan even gave away his children to a visitor and when in order to test the limit of his generosity for the people, the Supreme God sent an old man to him who asked him to give away his beautiful wife to him. He does this as well but the old man left his wife to him and said that he would be coming later to take her. His children presented to the visitor happened to reach the capital and the king redeemed them. They told the grandfather about the sufferings and noble character of their father. After insistent request prince Sudashan returned to the capital and the king gave his throne to him. The ending of the Jatak consists of the appeal of Buddha who describes that prince Sudashan is he himself in his earlier birth.²⁶²

It is known that the Jatak series is one of the most significant parts of the Indo-Buddhist literature. There were Buddhist text of theological character. As E.A. Bertels writes, "The artistic value of the above-mentioned Sogdian text is of course not very high. But we should not forgot that all of them are translations. It is important to note that these texts put before the Sogdian translator considerably complex his task and helpe him to develop his own language raising it upto the level of highly developed literary language of ancient India — Sanskrit".²⁶³ It may be noted that the translation was not literal and in some places it deviated from the original. The Sogdian translator brought into the translation some details which were absent in the original text and were in

262. The Sogdian text, French translation and Dictionary : Benveniste E., 1946.

For detailed Russian summary see : Bertels E.A., 1960, pp. 69-71.

263. Bertels E.A., 1960, p. 72.

accordance with the world outlook and the way of life of the Sogdians of that period.²⁶⁴

According to the narration by Narshah in Bukhara there existed a series of legends about mythological king-hero Siyavush. They existed in verses and were also sung and recited. The part about the death of Siyavush carried special names, in particular, such as "weeping of magicians". Obviously Siyavush was revered by Samarkand Sogdians and also in other regions of Central Asia.²⁶⁵

The other part of the epoch relating to the hero Rustum and his horse Rakhsh has come down to us in the form of two fragments written in Sogdian language. They narrate how Rustum chased the *devs* (demons), many of them he killed and many saved themselves by hiding in the town. Happy over his victory Rustum stopped at a meadow unsaddled his horse and left it to graze and putting his weapons aside had his meal and lay to relax. Meanwhile the *devs* (demons) overcoming their fear went out of the city to search for Rustum in order to kill him. Further there is a narration about the fight of the *devs* who were riding the chariots, elephants, different animals and snakes. Some of them were flying like hawks, others were moving upside down. "They brought rain, snow, hailstorm, and powerful lightening; they were wailing and throwing fire and smoke." Brave Rustum, unaware of this, was in sleep. He was saved by his faithful horse Rakhsh : he woke Rustum. He put on his panther skin, took up arms and rushed to fight. When the *devs* came closer he pretended to be frightened and retreated back. The *devs* chased him and then "Rustum turned back, pounced upon them as a furious lion on its prey".

The end of this fragment has not been preserved. Extremely interesting are the Sogdian versions of the fables "Kalila and Dimna" particularly about the trader and the pearl driller, etc. There exist many other Sogdian literary works.²⁶⁶

264. Livshits V.A., 1962, b, p. 42.

265. For details see: Diakonov M.M, 1951 (there are references to the sources and literature also).

266. Benveniste E., 1946; Henning W.B., 1940; 1945; 1946; Braginskii I.S., 1955, pp 129-131, 207-215, 413-415.

Religious Beliefs

Information about the religion of the population of Sogd is contained in different sources : Sogdian, Chinese, Arab and Tajik-Persian. However, this information is difficult to be compared and that is why in literature till now there is no comprehensive account about the religious system of the Sogdians. Let us turn to the sources.

In Sogd they admire spirit of *Desi* which is worshipped in the entire region from the western, *i.e.*, (Caspian-Sea, B.G.) sea to the east. It is represented in the form of a golden idol of the size of 15 feet in height. Everyday they sacrifice five camels, ten horses and hundred sheep before him. The number of persons offering sacrifice sometimes goes upto 1,000.”²⁶⁷ In the biography of Huan-tsan it is mentioned that in Samarkand “the king and the people do not believe in Buddha but worship fire”.²⁶⁸ There is also information about the worship of the “earthly evil spirit,”²⁶⁹ and reverence to a “celestial god”. Po Hoi Chao in Sogd in the first half of the 8th century was the spirit of the Heaven revered by everybody.²⁷⁰ In the palace of the Sogdian ruler was “the temple of ancestors”.²⁷¹

In the work of the great Central Asian scholar of the 11th century, Biruni, *The Monuments of the Past Generations* there is a special section “About the Festivals in the Months of the Sogdians”. On the 28th day of the first month is the “festival of the magicians of Bukhara” called Ramush-Agam when people gather in the temple of fire in the village of Ramush. These Agams are the most sacred festivals [they are celebrated] in every village. “They gather in the house of every *Rais*, they eat and drink. It happens turn by turn”. It is the festival of new year connected with the ideas of dying and resurrecting nature. In one of the months, the Sogdians had a fast; they refrained from eating and drinking from all such meals which were cooked on fire, only fruits and

267. Bichurin II, p. 313.

268. *The Life of Hsuan-tsan*, 1959; Chavannes E, 1903, p. 133.

269. Bichurin II, p. 310.

270. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

271. Bichurin II, p. 281.

vegetables were allowed to be eaten. On the first day of other months the Sogdians gathered at the temple of fire and ate some ritual dish prepared from millet flour, butter and sugar. At last there was a custom when once in a year "people of the Sogd" remembered their old dead. They cry and scratch their faces and put for the dead, meals and drinks. Similar customs existed among the Khwarezmians and Persians, also. From the stories about these people additional details are brought out: that the meals were put in *nauses*.²⁷²

Thus from the text of Biruni it is evident that the cult of the dead was quite widespread. We come to know about this also from the account of Narshah about Siyavush in Bukhara at the dawn of the first day of the new year everyone sacrificed a cock for Siyavush. Researchers compared the information of Vai-tsze about Samarkand with the story of Narshah. The essence of this is that the inhabitants believed that if the heavenly adolescent dies, in the seventh month then his bones are lost. When this month comes the believers put on black clothes and walk bare-feet beating their chest and weeping. They go to fields searching for the body of the heavenly adolescent. This custom ends on the seventh day.²⁷³ However, the image of Siyavush was connected not only with the cult of the dead — in it was preserved as the most ancient layer of beliefs connected with the dying and resurrecting god of vegetation.²⁷⁴

Above we have mentioned the Penjikent *nauses*. They have also been found at Kafir Kala near Samarkand. In Samarkand itself many *ossuaries* were discovered. An excellent collection of *ossuaries* with highly artistic reliefs originated from the village Biya-Naiman (near Kattakurgan)²⁷⁵

For the first time an *ossuary* was found, in 1871 during household chores, in Tashkent. During excavation by N.I. Veselovskii in Afrasiab in 1886 one more fragmented *ossuary* was

272. Biruni 1958, p. 258; see also pages 236, 255.

273. Diakonov M.M., 1951, pp. 36-37 (with references to the sources).

274. Tolstov S.P., 1947a, pp. 202-204.

275. Kastalskii B.E., 1909 (appendix); Borisov A. Ya., 1940a ; Staviskii B. Ya., 1961b; Rapoport U.A., 1971.

found which the said scholar considered as "mud coffin of the pre-Muslim period". In 1900 the same school introduced in scientific literature the term "ossuary" (from the Latin *ossuarium* "bone depository"). Research on *ossuaries* and the ossuarian burial customs was conducted in the pre-revolutionary period by scholars such as N.I. Veselovskii, V.V. Bartold, K.A., Innostrantsev and others; in the Soviet times by A. Ya. Borisov, U.A., Rapoport, B.Ya, Staviskii and others.



The Sculptural Depiction on the Lid of the Ossuary

In the light of the researches of the scholars on Sogdian *ossuar* customs the following can be said : In "Avesta" and later Zoroastrian compositions it is said that the dead body of Zoroastrian is taken out to a place which is called *dakhma* where "there are always dogs and birds eating the dead bodies". (about this it is particularly mentioned in "Videvdak"). As is known this custom exists till now in almost unchanged form in India among

the Parsis who migrated from Iran in medieval times and follow the Zoroastrian religion. Afterwards the bones were collected and taken to the special premises where they were preserved. This place was called *astodan*. In Arab sources describing the Arab conquest such places, which were met by the Arabs in Central Asia, are named “*naus*”²⁷⁶

It is very significant (it was pointed out by pre-revolutionary researchers) that we have a direct proof of the written sources about the existence of such a custom in Sogd. The Chinese ambassador Vai-tsze, having been to Sogd in the beginning of the 7th century writes : “outside the main city there lived separately more than 200 families specially performing the burial rites. They have built in secluded place a special construction where they rear dogs; when somebody dies they take the dead body to this place where it is eaten by the dogs; then they collect bones and bury them in a burial procession, but they do not put them into a coffin”.²⁷⁷ From the information given by Tabari and Narshahi it is evident that sometimes the flesh was removed from the bones by the people. In the opinion of K.A., Inostrantsev this was not the usual method for burial and was used in special cases.²⁷⁸ However, in Penjikent *nauses* the bones were not damaged, the part of spinal chord at the moment of burial preserved their links - all this would not have been possible if the dead bodies had been eaten by the dogs. In Penjikent *nauses* generally the number of buried persons on an average is ten in one vault. In *nauses* besides *ossuaries* with bones were also put ceramic vessels, copper coins and personal jewellery.²⁷⁹ The information about the custom of mourning among the Sogdian has been given above. In the document B8 from Mug hill (contract about sale of a plot of land) it is said that the buyers and their descendants can put the dead body and mourn.²⁸⁰ The mourning has been reflected in the account of burial

276. Bartold, V.V., 1966a, 1966b; Innostrantsev K.A., 1907b; 1907a; B. Ya., 1952; Rapoport U.A., 1971.

277. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 1, 33.

278. Inostrantsev K.A., 1909, p. 115.

279. Stavskii B. Ya. and others, 1953.

280. Livshits B.A., 1962b, pp. 47-48, 52-53.

custom in "Shahnama"²⁸¹ These customs are also reflected in the monuments of Sogdian paintings. They are contradictory to the instructions of the Zoroastrian religious works containing direct ban on the mourning of the dead. However, the ancient people's beliefs were stronger than such bans in Central Asia as well as, perhaps, in Iran.²⁸² Later Islam conducted a prolonged struggle against these customs, but everywhere in Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia it had to retreat. These customs on death and other occasions were preserved till the recent past. The mourning of the dead and also ritual mourning dances were preserved among Tajiks almost till our times.

In the available sources the "temples of fire" and the "temples of idols" are mentioned. This material has been fully collected and analysed in detail by A.M. Belinitiskii. Except for the proofs mentioned above it can be noted that in "Shahnama" there are references to the existence of the "temples of fire" in Bukhara and Paikand. The Pehlevian geographical work of the 9th century "Shahristanhai -i-Iran" informs about the establishment in Samarkand of the "magical fire" by the son of Siyavush. About putting there for preservation of golden (or gold plated) plate with the text of Avesta, about the destruction by Alexander of Macedonia after which Tur Frasiak (Afrasiab) "turned the abode of god into the cult complex of *devs*". In Kushania according to the Chinese sources there was a temple on the walls of which the ancient kings of different neighbouring people were painted. The local rulers used to pray in this temple everyday. Narshahi mentions the "houses of fire" in Ramitan and Bukhara, not in a legendary but a historical context. In Samarkand, at the time of conquest by the Arabs, there were "houses of idols and fire". The same information is given about the village Tavavis (Tabari, Belazuri). The sources give many concrete details about these idols wooden — (decorated by gold), silver and golden. When the idols from the main Samarkand "house of fire" *butkhana* were burnt in the ashes there were found about 50 thousand *miskals* of gold. One of the melted Samarkand idols gave 24 thousand

281. Belinitiskii A.M., 1954, p. 82.

282. Widengren G., 1965, pp. 330-339, 339-340.

zlotniks (one *Zolotnik* = 4.25 grams) of silver. Narshahi narrates about Paikand that in the temple of idols the Arabs found a silver idol weighing 4,000 dirhams, but there is information available that it was of gold and weighed 50,000 *miskals*. This cult existed in Bukhara and Samarkand even after the victory of Islam. The temples were very rich, there were many gold and silver household articles, precious stones e.g. pearls of the size of a chicken egg.

After examining this information in detail A.M. Belinitskii came to the conclusion that the “temples of idols” existed separately from the “temples of fire.”²⁸³ In our opinion A.M. Belinitskii has not proved fully his thesis; although his conclusion appears to be quite likely. The other main thesis of A.M. Belinitskii is that in Central Asia the priests of the cult of the fire, whom he considers to be Zoroastrians, struggled against the cult of idols as hostile to Zoroastrianism (in this struggle the latter had an upper hand). This thesis seems to us quite doubtful as he bases his definitions on the norms of “canonical” Zoroastrianism which is known from Sasanid Iran. But the Central Asian beliefs were not identical to Iran. That is why it is necessary to deal with this question with great caution. V.V. Bartold was of the view that the beliefs and customs of the Central Asian Zoroastrians “substantially differed from the customs of the orthodox followers of Zoroaster”. As A.Y. Yakubovskii writes, “In the foundation of Persian Zoroastrianism, as well as the religion of Sogdians Bactrians and Khwarezmians, there were some common ideas and cults. Among them there were the dualistic ideas about struggle between the good and evil powers on one side and the cult of the fire on the other. In Persia Zoroastrianism grew into a state religion with strictly worked out dogmas and complex organisation of priesthood which had great influence on the state affairs and first of all on the questions of ideology. In Central Asia the fate of Zoroastrianism turned to be different. It did not work out strict dogmas and did not become state religion as there was no single state there and priesthood as a powerful organisation was

283. Belinitskii A.M. 1954, pp. 52-62. See also Smirnova O.I., 1971, pp. 103-106.

not formed. Zoroastrianism was penetrated by local pagan cults which obviously co-existed peacefully with the cult of fire.²⁸⁴ For the Sogdian religion of the given period even a special term "Mazdeism"²⁸⁵ was suggested. The topmost Iranologist of contemporary times W.B. Henning stated that it is possible to speak about the influence of the teaching of Zoroaster on the natural paganism of Sogdiana.²⁸⁶

Although V.V. Bartold already raised the question of peculiarity of local pre-Muslim religion till now no reliable solution has been found. Much remains unclear or otherwise leads to diametrically opposite interpretations. For example, two competent scholars A.M. Belinskii and A.Y. Yakubovskii completely differ in definition of mutual relation of local cults and Zoroastrianism. In the works of historians of culture and archaeologists the linguistic material has not been fully used; the linguists use the archaeological and iconographical material scarcely, the research of which in turn has its specific and insurmountable difficulties.

The recent works of linguists has provided valuable material. In the Mug hill wedding contract there is an oath in the name of gods Baga and Mitra. In Rigveda Baga god meets Mitra as a lower ranking god. But in Mug contract as W.B. Henning suggests Baga appears not only as double of Mitra but occupies even a higher position. So far Mitra is concerned, he as well as Baga in this context is put in the rank of god personifying the contract.²⁸⁷ This conclusion was disputed and quite rightly by the publisher of the contract V.A. Livshits. The analysis of the context of all the Mug documents (and other Sogdian texts) led this scholar to the conclusion that under this name a superior god appears, *i.e.*, *Ahura - Mazda*, whose name the Sogdians preferred not to pronounce and write (in the written form it is met very rarely).

284. Yakubovskii A.Y., 1954, pp. 21-22.

285. See Staviskii B. a. and other, 1953, pp. 82-88. It is better to use this term with the definition "Central Asian".

286. Henning W.B., 1965a, p. 250 ("impact of Zoroaster's teachings in the native paganism of Sogdiana").

287. Henning W.B. 1965; pp. 248-250 (about Mitra see Gershevitch I., 1959); Klyashtorny S.G., Livshits V.A., 1971, pp. 133-134.

Among the superior gods of the Sogdian pantheon Zarvan may be mentioned. It is his name that is equivalent to the Indian superior god (Brahma) in the translated Sogdian Buddhist text where he appears with the epithet "great", "king of the gods". *Varatragna* (Vashagn), *Namaiya*, *Khvarenakh* (Farn), *Shtriiia* (Tish — the star of Sirius) and others. To this assembly of kind gods are opposed *Akhramany* U-Akhriman (who had specifically Sogdian sound Shimnu) with his *divas*. Among the Sogdians we find many notions which are found in early Avesta. The temple is named as 'Wagn'. Medieval authors of 10th-13th centuries and also later sources pointed out that in Sogd there are many villages in the name of which is included the word "Fagn" ("Bagn", "Wagn") which originates (it has been established for the first time by W.B. Henning) from the word "wagn". Such villages are Miyanbagna (in Vabkand), Vanufag (n) near Tavavis (in the vicinity of Bukhara), Astavagna and Khurbagna (in Gijuwan), Rustfagn and Krasvagn (near Samarkand), Khushufagn (near Kattakurgan or Samarkand possibly two villages), Kukshibagn (near Urgut), and others.

"Khushufagn" etymologises "six temples". Thus in the toponimik of Sogd have been preserved a large number of names related to the Sogdian designation of the temple. However, it would be incorrect to imagine, as some contemporary authors do, that the network of complex composite toponyms with Sogdian designation of the temple directly corresponds to the network of placing on the territory of Sogd Zoroastrian sanctuaries. In fact the regularity of forming this toponimical row is more complicated. The same is the case with the toponimical composites with the Sogdian god.

"Priest" the "head of the temple" was called *wagnpat*; this term is found since the times of "Old Sogdian letters". It is also referred in the Mug documents. Priest Kurchi (document I, 1) took part in completion of a significant diplomatic task. Besides this is mentioned in one of the Mug documents (A-5) Magupat the "Chief priest".

Along with the local religion which is now called Mazdeist there were other religions also. Buddhism at this time did not

occupy a significant position — it was squeezed out by other religions. The number of its followers was not large. But the role of Buddhism and other Indian religions in the life of Sogd was quite tangible. According to some informations Christianity was widely spread. In the beginning of the 6th century in Samarkand there was a Christian (Nestorian) bishop and in the 8th century a Metropolitan.²⁸⁸ The third religion Manicheism had acquired stronger roots.

The question of the role of Manicheism in the life of pre-Muslim Sogd was the subject of deep study by A.M. Belinitiskii. In about 600 A.D. among Manicheans a split occurred; in Central Asia the sect of Dinavariians was founded; the Centre of which was located in Samarkand. According to Belinitiskii the contents of wall paintings of Penjikent can be explained if we assume that they were Manicheans.²⁸⁹ This explanation calls for further study.

We would like to stress that even this, by no means complete material, shows how complex was the life in Sogd in the 6th-8th centuries. This multiformity of the religions existing in Sogd led to the creation of syncretic religious systems.

4. Other Regions of Central Asia

Ustrushan

In the Chinese sources this region is named Tsao (Eastern Tsao) or Su-wei-Sha-na.²⁹⁰ The information in sources about this region is very scarce. "Tan-shu" informs that the town is located on the northern side of the mountain Bosi (or Posi, perhaps the Turkestan range — B.G.). This place was in ancient times the city of Ershi, *i.e.*, Fargana. The distance to Shi (Tashkent) and Kan (Samarkand) was the same and the distance to Tukholo (Tukharistan) was longer. There was a city — Ye-Cha. In this city there was a strongly locked cave in which sacrifice was offered twice a year.

288. Bartold V.V., 1964, p.275.

289. Belinitiskii A.M., 1954; pp. 39-52, 62-81; Belinitiskii A.M.; 1959, pp.61-64.

290. The last name has several variations. For these variations see : Chavannes E., 1903, p. 138.

People came close to the cave and faced it. The smoke coming out of it kills those standing closest to it. In the period 618-626 A.D. in Su-dui-sha-na there was a young ruler. Along with Kan (Samarkand) he sent a mission to China.²⁹¹ In the opinion of E. Chavannes the city Su-dui belonged to this region.

Huan-tsan who calls this region Sutulisen and informs that its territory is 1400 or 1500 li (1.5 times bigger than the Chach region and slightly smaller than Samarkand — B.G.). On the east its border is the river (here the Chinese name of Syr Daria is given; Huan-tsan is wrong for Syr Daria is the border of Ustrushan in the north — B.G.). The food and habits and customs of the people are similar to those in the Chach region. Since the time when the king started his rule in Sutulisen it is under the rule of Turks. To the north-west of this region there is a desert where there is no water and no grass.²⁹²

Thus the territory of this region in the 6th-8th centuries is very clearly described. Its nucleus was the Ura-Tiube — Shaharistan depression. In the south it included the upper part of Zeravshan reaching perhaps to the northern slope of the Hissar range. In the north the border was Syr-Daria, in the east (presumably) were the lands of Khojent. In the north-west Samarkand lands (in a broad sense) formed its border. As for the name of the region the Chinese transcription gives an approximate idea about its real name. The discord in writing of the name is seen among the medieval Arab-Persian geographers which has led to incorrect conclusions — some of the contemporary authors are of the opinion that the "more correct" form is "Usrushana".²⁹³

In this neither the Chinese tradition which has been mentioned above where sound 't' exists in the name nor the contemporary Tajik tradition Istravshan (or Ustaraushan) where sound 't' is there and has been taken into account. Mug documents have conclusively established that in the early medieval period the

291. Bichurin II, p. 138, Chavannes E., 1903, pp. 37, 99, 138-139 and 312.

292. Beal S., 1906, I, pp. 31-32. In the biography of Huan-tsan ("The Life of Huan-tsang", 1959, p. 47) there is no additional data.

293. Negmatov N. 1957, p. 16.

region was named Ustrushana,²⁹⁴ but later 't' disappeared. The Ustrushana rulers carried the title "Afshin".²⁹⁵

On the territory, of Ustrushana large archaeological excavations have been conducted. The residence of Ustrushan, Afshins was located not far away from the contemporary settlement of Shaharistan. Here on the western bank of the river Shaharistan — Sai on the high terrace the settlement of Kala-i-Kahkaha is situated with its walls clearly preserved. The territory of the settlement is approximately 5 hectares. It consists of two parts : on the west eight to ten metres above the territory of the settlement, the hill of citadel is rising. On the territory of Shaharistan a barrack type building was excavated. In the citadel a palace has been uncovered. Its centre was a big festive hall (18 X 12 metres) with the throne of the king. There is another "smaller hall", temple and also other rooms. (residential rooms, house keeper's rooms, arsenals). The building was decorated with wall paintings. Its wooden pillars and ceilings were carved. On the wall of the central corridor was a six metre long composition in which a female wolf was depicted with two pups sucking its breast.

According to Negmatov this theme penetrated Central Asia in the 5th-7th centuries. He writes, "In Central Asia there existed a certain religious basis for adoption of mythological traditions of western Christianity."²⁹⁶ Indeed among the different people of middle (or broader Central) Asia, legends, can be found which are similar to the famous Etruscan-Roman tradition. The fact of the appearance of this scene should be viewed in connection with the very old propagation of the myth in the East about the King's offspring (offsprings) raised by the female wolf.²⁹⁷

The "small hall" is richly decorated with paintings. Here are a group of horse riders in warriors' role carrying shears and banners in their hand on horses of different colours, and also a three-

294. Livshits V.A., 1962 b, p. 87.

295. Bartold V.V., 1964 a, p. 497.

296. Negmatov N. 1958, pp. 33-34.

297. For detailed study of this problem see Binder G., 1964; see also the review of this book : Assmussen J., 1967; Bivar A.D.H., 1957, p. 512. Valuable indications also exist in the reference book : Thompson S., 1955.

headed and four-armed god, and a three-eyed demon, and fragments of animals. This painting is done in several tiers.

The collection of wooden sculpture and reliefs is also rich and varied. Several round sculptures of people and birds and different compositions have been found. Particularly interesting is a unique, large, carved wooden tympanum where there are figures of different sizes. All of them have been executed skilfully. This tympanum as well as the art monuments of Shahristan in general are of significant interest for the study of art, culture, mythology and life of early medieval Central Asia.

Not far away from the settlement mentioned above there is another hill—Kala-i-Kahkaha II. Its planning is completely different. The flat square area (210 X 230 metres) is surrounded by walls. In one corner there is a small hillock. It turned out to be the ruins of a three storeyed castle - type building. Here there were festive halls and living rooms. The ceilings were dome-shaped (of bricks) and flat (wooden) supported by columns. The building was a fortified castle of a palace H type. It was decorated by wood carvings and wall paintings.²⁹⁸

It is astonishing as to how the other Shaharistan monument Chilhujra has been preserved which is situated near the confluence of the rivers Kulkutan and Shaharistansai. This two-storeyed construction is also of the castle type. The building has a long and complex history as was re-built radically. Nevertheless the buildings of the first and partly second floor were preserved so well that even now they give a full idea about the look of the old architecture.²⁹⁹ Very interesting is the castle of Urta Kurgan and other buildings which are situated not far away from Chilhujra.

We have already mentioned about the paintings and wooden carvings of Ustrushan structures. They are extremely interesting, as monuments of art culture as well as a source for understanding of the ideology including religion of the Ustrushan people. According to the available data particularly connected with the legal case of *afshin* Haidar (9th century) who was indicted for secretly practising the religion of his ancestors, in Ustrushan

298. Negmatov N.N. and Khmel'nitskii S.G., 1966.

299. Pulatov U.P., 1968.

prevailed the Central Asian form of Zoroastrianism.³⁰⁰ Thus there are data showing that the *ossuar* burial custom was prevalent.

The language of the Ustrushan people was one of the dialects of the Sogdian language. In Chilujra documents were found which were written in Indian ink on the small wooden boards. One of them, which was fully preserved, was read by V. A. Livshits. It is a receipt of the same type as Sogdian. Its contents are as follows : "I, Chiius, requested on the 31st day [beginning] from the day of Vat [22nd day of Sogdian month] of the month of Vaganich [eighth month of Sogdian year] for asses. Farnarch drove them for me from the [village] of Atrepazmak [and] among them there was not a single bad one". On the back side "wrote Gushnaspich on the order of Farnarch". The character of the script is very close to the documents from Mug hill.³⁰¹ It is also characteristic that in Ustrushan as well as in Sogd there were professional scribes. The name of one of them we already know. These names are of Zoroastrian character.

The data about development of handicrafts, agriculture etc. has also been obtained. These materials testify to the high and quite original culture of early medieval Ustrushan which is in its main aspects very close and sometimes identical with the culture of Sogd.

Fargana

Fargana of the 6th-8th centuries was called, in foreign sources, as Feihan, Bohan and Pahanna.³⁰² Proceeding from these transcriptions and Sogdian designation of Fargana the ancient name is reconstructed as far [a] gana or Fragana.³⁰³

According to Huan-tsan, Fargana is surrounded by mountains from all sides.³⁰⁴ It shows that in the 7th century Fargana meant Fargana valley. The soil of Fargana, the traveller writes further, is rich and fertile. It produces many fruits. There are flowers and

300. Henning W.B., 1965 a, pp. 250, 253-254.

301. Pulatov U.P. 1968, pp. 20-21.

302. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 148.

303. Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 85.

304. Beal S., 1906, I, p. 30.

fruits in abundance in this valley. The Fargana horses and cattle are famous.³⁰⁵ Hoichao adds, “in Fargana there are camels, mules and sheep. Cotton cultivated. People eat food made from many grains. The dresses are made from the skin of animals, (that is, leather or fur - B.G.) and cotton material.”³⁰⁶

The Dynasty of the kings of Fargana, on the whole did not break up during several centuries,³⁰⁷ though about 630 A.D., Fargana was without a supreme ruler for about 10 years. As the source mentions several strong rulers became more powerful and did not submit to each other.³⁰⁸ Around 720 A.D. in Fargana there was a very strong king who was called Alutar in the Arab sources.³⁰⁹ The Fargana ruler carried local title “Ikshid” or “Ikshad”. Sometimes later in 726 A.D. in Fargana there were two kings : the king of the lands towards the south of the river submitted to the Arabs and lands to the north of the river were under the rule of the king dependent on the Turks.³¹⁰ In 739 A.D. and later Fargana was ruled by Turk Arslan Tarhan.³¹¹ The capital of Fargana at that time according to one source was the city of Kasan, and according to the other source — Akhsiket.³¹²

According to the descriptions of events of the period of Arab conquest Fargana was a powerful state playing a significant role in the political life of Central Asia. This was conditioned by its military potential which had a serious economic basis. The development of agriculture including cultivation and animal husbandry has already been mentioned before. Handicrafts in Fargana also attained a high level. Significantly, external trade also grew. To the neighbouring countries were exported horses,

305. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

306. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

307. Bichurin, II, p. 319.

308. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

309. Earlier the name of this ruler [the Arab graphic suggested the etymology of this 1962 b, p. 85 name as ‘black’ (Livshits V.A., 1962b, p. 85 The reading of Alutar is established by O.I. Smirnova (1969, pp. 213-214).

310. Fuchs W., 1938, p. 452.

311. Chavannes E., 1903, p. 149.

312. For analysis of sources (their information does not coincide) about earlier medieval capital of Fargana see : Bartold V.V., 1965 b, p. 529.

medicines, paints, products of coloured glass ³¹³ made by the use of indigo, and other goods.

The ruins of Kasan consist of two parts — city and castle — which are situated on the banks of Kasansai river. The city has the form of a trapezium with a size of 160, 180 and 80 metres. Its walls have a broken contour and are fortified in the corners by towers. On the south-west of the city there is a fortified citadel. The defence was strengthened by the additional wall which was at a distance of 15 metres from the main wall and covered the entrance to the fortress. Some distance from the city was a castle at an elevated position (this reminds on the whole of Kala-i-Kahkana I and II in Shaharistan). The castle is a powerful fence on a rocky square-shaped territory of 90X70 metres. The wall was fortified by six towers. From the territory of the castle down to the city there were two walls perhaps surrounding the way; they joined two parts of this complex. The general perimeter of the ruins is about two kilometres. Small excavation works in Kasan were conducted by A.N. Bernshtam in 1948. It was revealed that the settlement appeared here in the Kushan period. On this settlement, as on the platform, arose the early medieval Kasan with its numerous structures and a powerful system of fortification.³¹⁴

The other urban centre of medieval Fargana was Kuva where excavations are being conducted by Uzbek archaeologists.³¹⁵

The centre of Isfarian region — residence of the ruler — was the castle of Kala-i-Bolo ("a high fortress"). It is situated four kilometre to the south of the district centre Isfara on the bank of river Isfara. The height of the castle is 11-12 metres. Its size is 16 × 65 metres. During the excavations of the castle, conducted by E.A. Davidovich, it was revealed that in the 6th-7th centuries during the construction of the high platform the walls of the earlier construction were incorporated. In the 6th-8th centuries the fortress had a high platform with slanting facade and vertical wall with loopholes. Common for castle architecture — protruding

313. Schafer E.H., 1963, pp. 64-65, 212, 236.

314. Bernshtam A.H., 1952, pp. 233-234.

315. Bulatova-Levina V.A., 1961, pp. 41-43.

towers — were absent. Instead of this the external contour was made in steps which enabled to carry out flanking fire. The living part of the complex consisted of an open small yard in the northern part and living and household structures in the southern yard. In construction uniform mud bricks and rectangular raw bricks of the size of $52 \times 26 \times 10$ centimetres were used; in the laying of the walls these materials and materials from earlier structures were used. The walls were plastered, coloured from inside in black with brick work from outside. The rectangular rooms were made of domed blocks which were laid in slanting pieces.³¹⁶

Besides the valley, castle of Kala-i-Bolo in the Isfarian region there were mountain castles for the platform of which were used the rocks. Such for example is the castle Kala-i-Kafir on the left bank of river Isfara. Here the rock rises 50-60 metres above the bank of the river. It is impossible to climb on it from this side. The access from the other sides is also difficult. On the upper territory of the rock (80×60 metres) there are the remnants of the old fortress. Its walls, with three towers, had an irregular configuration as if it was a ribbon going along the curves of the rock. This three tower fortress was completely inaccessible. Such types of fortresses were situated near the villages Surkh, Vorukh, etc. They formed a fortified skeleton for the Isfara valley completely closing the access for the enemy. Along with this, these fortresses were strong points for the feudal rulers and created a possibility to have an upper hand in the irrigation system.³¹⁷

The mountain castles and fortified settlements in the valleys existed in the Asht region as well. In southern Fargana in the valley of river Khoja-Bakirgan (the Lyailyak region of the Kyrgyz Republic) there existed a rich feudal estate. As a result of excavations by G.A. Brikina it was possible to unearth a big complex of rooms among which there were household and living ones (for example, the store with 16 Khums for preserving food stuffs). In the home chapel decorated by wall paintings there were pedestals. On one of them there were sculptured alabaster idols —

316. Davidovich E.A., 1958.

317. Davidovich E.A. and Litvinskii B.A., 1955, pp. 144-147, 165-174.

depiction of people in a specific manner. Here three places for smoking were found. G.A. Brikina put forward an extremely convincing hypothesis. That here were performed worships for family-clan ancestors.³¹⁸

Along with the settled population, in the Fargana valley there was a considerable number of nomad and semi-nomad population. With this population the burial monuments situated in the Kuramin range (Karamajar mountains, north of Leninabad region) are connected. Here from the village Kuruk-sai to Asht and Pangaz there are many sepulchres consisting of stone structures made above the surface, which the local population called Kurums (meaning "the pile" of stones) or Mugkhona (the houses of Mugs). During archaeological excavations it has been revealed that these structures indeed had a cell towards inside which the entrance leads. However, this cell is not a living room; in it there are one or several skeletons and burial inventory — utensils, weapons, jewellery, etc. In one of the structures a horse is also buried. Stirrups have also been found - Central Asian invention which penetrated into Middle Asia in the 5th -6th centuries.³¹⁹

Some of the burials, including those in Mugkhona, could be connected with the Turks. It is not accidental that on the bronze signet rings found in Mugkhona there is an inscription consisting of four signs of ancient Turk Runic script with the name of the owner.³²⁰ Discoveries of monuments of the Middle Turk Runic script in Fargana are many.³²¹ Their number is rising. They are also found in the Tajikistan part of Fargana in the Karamazar mountains and in Isfara Valley. The monuments of Runic script, Turk burials along with information in the written sources point out to a big role of Turks not only in political but also in the ethnic history of Fargana, in the early medieval period. This is more true in the case of the neighbouring region of Chach and especially the Samirechiye. Unfortunately we cannot dwell upon the history of

318. Brikina G.A., 1971 a; 1971 b.

319. For Mugkhona (Kurums) see : Voronets M.A., 1957; Sprishevskii V.I., 1956; Litvinskii B.A., 1959 and others.

320. Klyashtornii S.G., 1959.

321. Zadneprovskii U.A., 1967.

these regions as well as the Khwarezm and southern Turkmenistan and the interesting monuments existing there.

5. Socio-Economic System : The Establishment of Feudal Relations

The written sources do not contain enough real information about socio-economic system of Central Asia of the 5th -8th centuries to dwell in detail on its dynamics. Only recently the historians were compelled to limit themselves by obtaining scarce information, literally crumbs, from the later Arab-Persian sources. Even in the corresponding chapter of the volume II of the "History of the Tajik People" (Moscow 1964) in the section on the written sources there is only a summary of Arab-Persian tradition. Leaving aside details, let us concentrate on the importance of the documents from the Mug hill and also other Khwarezmian documents.

In one of the Mug documents narrating about the event in Kuch, the entire society — people — is divided into three strata : nobility, traders and toilers *i.e.*, peasants and craftsmen. Besides there were slaves of several categories. I. Gershevich and V.A. Livshits, on the basis of analysis of terminology of the Mug documents, suggest the existence in Sogd of 7th–beginning of 8th centuries of several categories of slaves and dependent people. Here are only slaves, slaves hostages, slaves–prisoners of war, and lastly those who surrendered for protection". The household chief could also sell members of his family as slaves.³²² In Khwarezmian inscriptions on "Asuaris" from Tok-kala there is a term "*Khunanik* (slave).³²³ In Arab sources of the period of Arab conquest of Central Asia there are direct indications that in Sogd, in the beginning of 8th century, there were a large number of slaves.³²⁴

Nevertheless not only slaves but different categories of city and rural toilers formed the main force of production. The peasants who were sent for work are called in the document as

322. Livshits V.A. 1962 b, pp. 34-37.

323. Gudkova A.V., Livshits V.A., 1967, p. 14.

324. For this material see : Smirnova O.I, 1957; 1960.

"people". There is another name *rkr'kt* which may mean according to linguists those "working under duress". There existed category of *mr'z* in which were included toilers who performed their work for payment³²⁵. Among the cultivators there were the *kishtichkars* and *kishavarzs* which according to Gershevich meant "cultivators" (correspondingly farmer and plough man). The peasant cultivators carried the name *Kadivers*. An important role was played by the village commune which in documents was designated as "people" and "country."

In the dominating class (azats — "free", "noble", "elite") were included *dihkans*³²⁶. In the early, (partly developed) medieval times *dihkan* was a big landowner owning the whole region (for example, Bukhara or Chach) district or large locality. In the sources they are designated correspondingly "great *dihkans*" or simply *dihkans*. These kind of *dihkans* possessed great powers, first of all, because at their disposal were large military units or detachments of armed workers who were called *chakirs* (shakirs). Huan-tsan wrote about Samarkand: "Their army is powerful; it mainly consists of Chdze-ge (chakirs). They are fierce and brave. They take death as home-coming. When they attack no enemy can withstand them". The other source describing An (Bukhara) speaks about Chdze-ge as "brave and courageous" people.³²⁷

There are many accounts related to *chakirs* in the Arab-Persian sources. Summing up this data³²⁸ it can be concluded that the rulers and *dihkans* had large military detachments the members of which were recruited from among the free people and carried the name *chakirs*. They were professional warriors and it were they who formed the nucleus of the army. The number of *chakirs* of big rulers exceeded several thousands. From the Mug documents as well as the information in the Arab sources the existence of a complex hierarchy among the dominating class and the vassal relationship is clearly brought out. The highest position

325. For these terms see also : Bogoliubov M.N., Smirnova O.I., 1963, p.9.

326. This word has undergone a long evolution. At present in the Tajik language *dehkanin* (*dehkon*) means peasant-cultivator.

327. Beal S. 1906; Pullyblank E.G., 1952, pp. 348-349.

328. Mandelshtam A.M., 1954.

in this hierarchy belongs to the *ikhshid*. Already in “old Sogdian letters” (the beginning of 4th century is mentioned the *ikhshid* of the village of Tamarkush (in the valley of Isfara it is known already in the 9th-10th centuries). In the Mug documents the term *ikhshid* is expressed by the ideogram MLK’ (King). The Arab, Persian speaking medieval authors revealed the meaning of this term as “a king of kings;” its real meaning in early medieval Central Asia corresponded to “supreme ruler”.

Narshahi has brought to us the information that the *dihkans* were dressed in special robes and carried a golden belt (this is confirmed by the iconographical material not only from Sogd but also from Tokharistan). He also writes that the Bukharan queen who ruled (to be precise former regent) in the period preceding the Arab conquest usually came out of the citadel of Bukhara everyday and ascending on the throne performed her state business : gave orders including rewards and punishments. Everyday, 200 young *dihkans* came to her to pay their respects; they stood in two rows and after the sunset came back to their villages. The next day they were replaced by another group of *dikhans*. This paying of respects was seen as a duty and every group had to come for this duty four times a year.³²⁹

Thanks to the Mug documents we have some idea of the administrative system of Sogd.

The Central administration of the big Central Asian states consisted of *Tudun* — one of the superior ranks, possibly the chief of Civil administration, and also *Tarkhan*. One of the higher ranks was *n'ztryw*, *n'ztyr'yw* “close”, “helper”. An important role was played by *dapirpat* (“main scribe” “the head of the office”). The manager of the palace household — *framandar* supervised the revenue and expenditure of the agriculture and handicraft production, and military outfit; gave orders for distribution of goods, maintained the register and official records. In the service hierarchy a very high position belonged to him, subordinates addressed him as “master, ruler, great patron, framandar”. Special

329. The Russian translation *Narshahi* 1897, pp.15-16. A simple counting shows that the number of people who came for this service exceeded 18 thousand, but perhaps this number is exaggerated.

functions were performed by "chief wine scooper", "chief doctor", "chief of the stable", "chief of the park". There also existed the post of an executioner (document A-5). Some police functions were performed by an official named in document V-4 as *wrnyk'm*. There were tax collectors also. The command of troops was given big significance. In the Mug documents there is mention of "military commander" (*S'ykn*).

Along with the centre there existed local administration also. It consisted of the heads of villages and adjacent vicinity (they were called "masters"), of "rural head" *arspan* and "head".³³⁰

The main role of all this network of administrative system was to extract taxes, obligations, dues, tributes, etc. from the toiling people. The "apparatus of coercion" "of early medieval Sogd worked as a well regulated clock-like mechanism. All the entries and movements of material values were meticulously registered, the documents, registers, and bills made in two copies, were signed and sealed.

There existed offices, for performing the functions of administration. The sources inform, "(for) giving punishment they follow a code kept in the temple".³³¹ In the marriage contract found on the Mug hill was written that it was performed at a legal place and the name of its head (possibly religious) was given.³³²

The poverty of the oppressed classes was in sharp contrast with the riches and luxuries of the aristocracy. The classic example of this is the narration of Narshahi about Bukhar-Khudat who returned to his motherland after the revolt of Abrui. Vast riches were concentrated in the hands of this Bukhar-Khudat. Another example is of one Sogdian Makhyan who rented, from Devashlich three watermills with all canals, structures, and millstones". The lease-holder had to pay, as rent, 460 *kafchas*, i.e., more than 3.5 tons of flour in a year.³³³

Archaeological materials (mentioned in the previous chapters) clearly indicate the existence of deep social and property

330. Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp.62, 69, 134-135, 164, 176-178.

331. Bichurin II, p.281.

332. Livshits V.A., 1962b, pp. 24-26, 38-39.

333. Ibid., 1962b, pp.57-60.

differentiation. Inside the cities we see luxurious mansions of the aristocracy, the beautiful palaces of the rulers alongside the slums of ordinary citizens.

The life of the aristocracy with its unlimited luxury is clearly reflected in the art monuments. The carefree aristocrats, indulging in revelries, get up only to fight knightly duels with their peers and against this backdrop there are the gloomy figures of the humiliated servants. The excavations in the Berkutkalin oasis, in Khwarezm, conducted by S.P. Tolstov and his colleagues E.E. Nerazik and B.V. Andrianov³³⁴ provided highly significant material characteristic of the rural life of that period. Thanks to the specific conditions the monuments of Berkutkalin oasis have been nicely preserved till our times, not only individual monuments but the entire system of settlements and irrigation network. The oasis is stretched by a narrow line (length around 40 kilometres, width about 4-5 kilometres) along a big main canal. At a distance of 200-300 metres, from each other there, were situated fortified estates, the main type of rural settlements of early medieval period of Berkutkalin oasis. In these estates there were large residential complexes, sometimes concentrated around a yard. Besides these, there were strongly fortified castles. All the settlements consisted of 8-13 groups inside every one of which there was a main castle of this group. The estates differed sharply from each other in size. Only one-third of them were big and the rest were considerably small. The property and social differentiation of the communes is indirectly proved by the differences in the size of the cultivated land which has been established in some cases. It is also characteristic that some castles were built precisely during this time. At the foothill of the biggest castle of Berkutkala there arose a small city — one of the centres of handicraft in the oasis. The process of concentration of the estates in groups was going on intensively in the central part of the oasis. In the 7th-8th centuries the castles appeared, and around them estates, as the old centres fell into decay.

S.P. Tolstov expressed the view that the topography of Berkutkalin oasis reflects the establishment of feudal relations.

334. Tolstov S.P., 1948; Nerazike E.E., 1966; Andrianov B.V., 1969.

This view was confirmed and concretised in the process of further archaeological works of E.E. Nerazik. Perhaps, on the territory of the oasis there several large rural communes were situated including 7-8 thousand people. In the estates there lived agnatic groups of various sizes—large families owning the common property and acting as a single collective in productive as well as social life and isolated small families, possibly playing less significant role.

Other observations indicate a similar picture existing in other regions of Central Asia also. The castles — residences of *dihkans* — were built strictly and regularly at the heads of the irrigation systems. Because of this the owners of these castles could control distribution of water which in Central Asian conditions was adequate to have a right to be in command over the life and death of the rural population.

In the historical literature of the forties and fifties there dominated the view of S.P. Tolstov that in the early medieval period life fell into decay. This point of view is now fully contrary to the facts. Even the selective material given in this book testifies to a considerable development of cities and urban life. The cities were the centres of handicraft and trade (in Penjikent it is evident from the excavations), and of highly developed culture. For rural landscape the castles became a characteristic feature which sometimes were situated very close to the cities. In these castles as well as in Shaharistan and citadels of the cities lived the aristocrats and the nobility about which the written sources inform.

The structure of the city and abundance of castles, the character of art and tradition of the "life of the knights", the existence of armed bodyguards of the aristocrats, the political fragmentation and signs of vassalage — all this is the indication of deepest changes in the social and economic life. The slave owning formation is replaced by the other — feudal. In the 5th-8th centuries its institutions were in the initial and immature form. About many of them we can only guess on the basis of indirect data. But all this does not change the essence of the matter — the settled regions of Central Asia in the 5th-8th centuries embarked on the path of feudal development.

In those historical conditions the emergence of feudal society was a significant progressive phenomenon. The emergence of feudalism in Central Asia (as well as in other countries) became possible only on the basis of considerable development of forces of production which already did not correspond with the slave-owning formation. The emerging feudal formation in Central Asia was characterised by many essential changes in the life of the society. Although the village continues to occupy the dominating status, in the early stages of medieval feudalism the feudal cities which were the main centres of historical progress were developing. All these developments were going in the background of stormy class struggle, the rebellions of the oppressed (for example, the movement of Abru) F. Engels wrote about the state: "The main purpose of this organization has always been to provide with the help of armed forces economic oppression of the toiling majority by the privileged minority".³³⁵ This characteristic fully applies also to the early medieval Central Asia.

335. K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch*, volume 19, p. 359.

Abbreviations

ADD	: Avtoreferat Doktorskoi Dissertatsii
AKD	: Avtoreferat Kandidatskoi Dissertatsii.
APT	: Arkhitekturnye Pamyatniki Turkmenii, Ashkhabad.
Ar. SSSR	: Arkhitektura SSSR, M.
ART	: Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane. Dushanbe (Tr. II AN Tadzh SSR)
Biul AN SSSR	: Biulletin AN SSR. M.
Biul CAGU	: Biulletin Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Tashkent
W	: "Vizantskii Vremeni" L-M.
VDI	: "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii, M."
VI	: "Voprosy Istorii". M.
VIMK	: "Vestnik Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva". S.Pb.
VS	: "Voennyi Sbornik", M.
VYa	: "Voprosy Yazykoznaniiya". M.
G Zh.	: "Gornyi Zhurnal". M.
DAN Yz SSR	: "Doklady Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR".
DAN Tadzh SSR	: "Doklady Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR".
ETK	: "Ezhegodnik Turkestan'skogo Kraia". Tashkent
Zh. MNP	: "Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Proshvescheniya" SPb..
Zh.S.	: "Zhivaya Starina". SPb.
ZVORAO	: "Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Obschestva". SPb, Pg.
ZIV	: "Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedaniya AN SSSR" M.-L.

- Z(I)RGO : "Zapiski Imp. Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- ZKV : "Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzee Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk (Akademic Nauk SSSR). L.
- IAN : "Izvestiya (Imperskoi) Akademii Nauk". SPb.
- IV : "Istoricheskii Vestnik". M.
- IGAIMK : "Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Materialnoi Kultury". M.
- IZh : "Istoricheskie Zhurnal". M.
- IZ : "Istoricheskie Zapiski". M.
- Izv. VGO : "Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" M.
- Izv. OLEE : "Izvestiya Obschestva Liubitelei estestvoznaniya i etnografic". M.
- Izv. Tadzh. FAN SSSR : "Izvestiya Tadzhikskogo Filiala AN SSSR"
- II : Institut Istorii
- IIAE : Institut Istorii, Arkhedogii i Etnografii
- IINT : Institut Istorii Nauki i Tekhniki.
- IM : "Istoriik Marksist". M.
- IMKU : "Istoriya Materialnoi Kultury Uzbekistana", Tashkent.
- INA : Institut Narodov Azii AN SSSR
- IOON AN : "Izvestiya Otdeleniya Obschestvennykh Nauk Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR". Dushanbe.
- IRGO : "Izvestiya Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- IYaLI : Institut Yazyaka, Literatury i Istorii
- KSIV : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR" M.-L., M.
- KSIIIMK : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii Materialnoi Kultury AN SSSR, M. L., M.
- KSINA : "Kratkoe Soobscheniya Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR" M.-L., M.
- KSIE : "Kratkie Soobscheniya Instituta Etnografii AN SSSR" M.-L., M.
- LOINA : Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Narodov Azii AN SSSR.
- LU : "Literaturnyi Uzbekistan" Tashkent.
- MAR : "Materialy po Arkheologii Rossii". SPb.

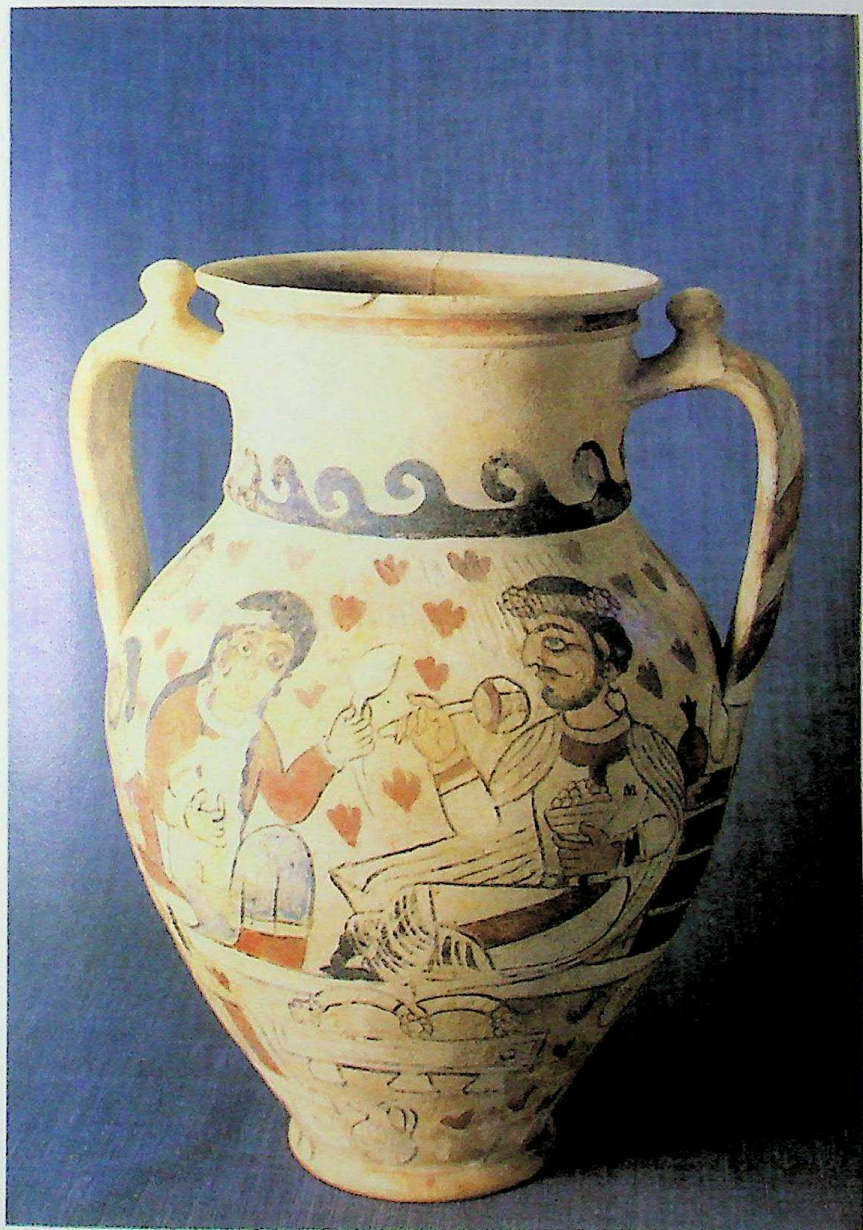
Mat-ly	: "Materialy Yuzhno-Turkmenskoi, Arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi Ekspeditsii". M.-L., Ashkhabad.
MIA	: "Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR". YaM.-L.
MIYA	: "Materialy i Issledovaniya po Indoevrapskim i Drugim Yazykam". M.
MITAU	: "Materialy po Istorii i Teorii Arkhitektury Uzbekistan". Tashkent.
MITT	: "Materialy po Istorii Turkmeni Turkmenia". M.L.
MIUTT	: "Materialy po Istorii Uzbekskoi, Tadzhikskoi i Turkmenskoi SSR".
MOE	: "Materialy Otdeleniya Etnografii". L.
MSTK	: "Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo Kraya" Edzhegodnik pod red, N.A. Maeva, vyp., I-V, SPb, 1872-1879.
NAA	: "Narody Azii i Afriki". M.
NS	: "Numizmaticheskii Sbornik". M.
NTr. TGU	: "Naukhnie Trudy Tashkentskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta"
NE	: "Numizmatika i Epigrafika". M.
OVGE	: Otdel Vostoka Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha
OIT	: "Ocherki po Istorii Tadzhikistana" Stal'mabad.
OON	: Otdelenie Obschestvennykh Nauk, Otdelenie Pysskogo Yazyke i Slovesnosti Imp. Akademicheskikh Nauk. SPb.
PV	: "Problemy Vostokovedeniya". M.
PLNV	: "Pamyatniki Literatury Narodov Vostoka".
PS	: "Predneaziatskii Sbornik". M.
PTKLA	: "Protokoly Zasedanii i Soobscheniya Chlenov Turkestanskogo Kluba Liubitelei Arkheologii". Tashkent.
RANION	: "Rossiskaya Assotsiatsiya Nauchno-Issledovatel'skikh Institutov Obschestvennykh Nauk.
RV	: "Russkii Vestnik"
RT	: "Russkii Turkestan"
SA	: "Sovetskaya Arkheologiya"
CAGU	: Sredneaziatskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet. Tashkent.

- Sb. MAE : "Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii pri AN SSSR". SPb.
- SV : "Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie" M.-L., M.
- SGSTMA : "Sbornik Geograficheskikh Statisticheskikh i topograficheskikh Materialov po Azii". SPb.
- SIIA : "Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii Arkhitektury".
- SIITA : "Soobscheniya Instituta Istorii i Teorii arkhitektury Akademii Arkhitektury SSSR". M.
- SKSO : "Spravochnaya Knizhka Samarkandskoi Oblasti"
- SMSSDO : "Sbornik Materialov Statistiki Syr-Darynskoi Oblasti".
- SE : "Sovetskaya Etnografiya". M.—L.-M.
- TAN : Trudy Akademii Nauk
- TAE : Termezskaya Arkheologicheskaya Kompleksnaya Expeditsiya
- TV : "Turkestanskije Vedomosti"
- TVORAO : "Trudy Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva" SPb.
- TIYal : "Trudy Instituta Istorii, Iazyaka i Literatury"
- TIE : "Trudy Instituta Etnografii"
- TOVE : "Trudy Otdela Vostoka-Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaazha"
- Tr. GIM : "Trudy Gosudarstvennogo" Istoricheskogo Muzeya
- Tr. IINT : "Trudy Instituta istorii Nauki i Tekhnologii" M.-L.
- Tr. IE : "Trudy Instituta Etnografii"
- Tr. Kirg. AEE : "Trudy Kirgizskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii"
- Tr. Kh. AEE : "Trudy Khorezmiskoi Arkheologicheskoi Ekspeditsii". M.
- Tr. Yz. GU : "Trudy Uzbekckogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta". Samarkand
- Tr. lu. TAKE : "Trudy Iuzhno-turkmenistanskogo arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi ekspeditsii". Ashkhabad
- UZIVAN : "Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR". M.
- UZLGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta".
- UZMGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta"

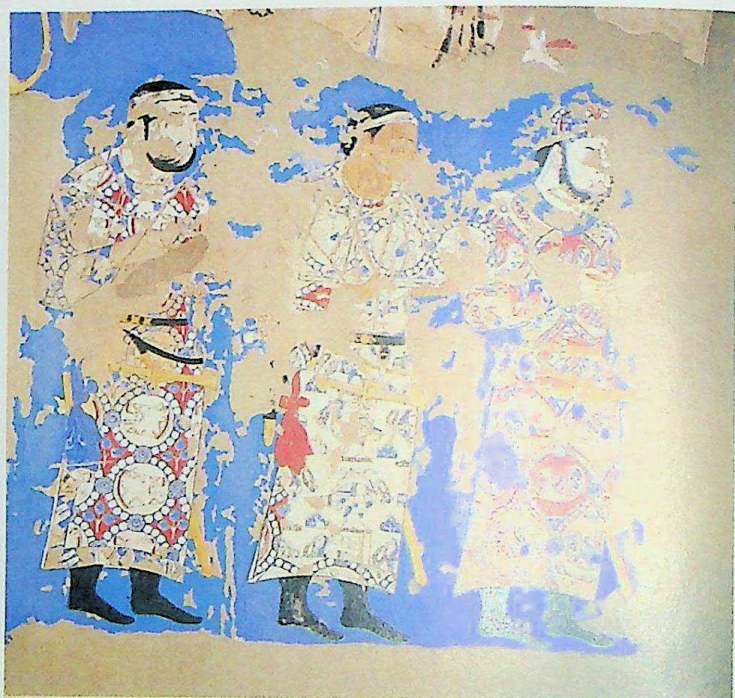
- UZTGU : "Uchenye Zapiski Tadzhikskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta".
- EV : "Epigrafika Vostoka". L.
- AA : "Arts Asiatica". Paris
- AAH : "Akta Antique Hungarica". Budapest
- AI : "Arts Islamica". Paris
- AKGWG : "Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften". Berlin
- AM : "Asia Major". London
- AMS : American Numismatic Society. New York
- AO : "Arkhib Orientalny". Praha
- AP : "Ancient Pakistan" Peshawar
- AON : "Akta Orientalia Hungarica". Budapest
- ASPR : "American School of Pre-Historic Research"
- AWL : Academic der Wissenschaft und der Literatur. Wiesbaden
- BCI : "Bulletin of the College of Indoogy" Banaras.
- BI : Bibliotheca Indica: a collection of oriental works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- BGA : Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Edidit M.J. de Goeja pare I-VIII, Lugduni Batavorum.
- BRIPIT : "Brief Report on the investigation of the Proto-Indian texts. Moscow
- BSO(A)S : "Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies". London Institution (University of London). London
- CAJ : "Central Asiatic Journal" International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, history and Archaeology of Central Asia". Wiesbaden.
- CHM : "Cahiers d'histoire mondiale" Neihatel
- CRAI(BL) : "Academic des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des seances". Paris
- CSSS : China Society Sinological Series.
- DI : "Der Islam". Berlin
- ENR : "Economic History Review". London
- EI : "Enzyklopaedie des Islam", Geographisches, ethnografisches Worterbuch der muhammedanischen Volker, Bd. I-IV, Leiden-Leipzig(1908) 1913-1934.

- EI (New ed.) : "The Encyclopaedie of Islam" New ed., Vol. I. Leiden—London, 1960.
 ESC : "Economies, Societies, Civilisations". Paris
 EW : "East and West" Roma
 GMS : "Gibb Memorial Series". Leiden
 HO : "Handbuch d'Orientalistik". Leiden-Koln
 IF : "Indogermanschen Forschungen". Berlin.
 IHQ : "The Indian Historical Quarterly", Calcutta
 IJBIPS : "Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies". London
 ISHEWCC : "International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts". Japanese National Commission of UNESCO.
 IQ : "Indian Quarterly" Calcutta
 ISQ : "The Islamic Quarterly"
 JA : "Journal Asiatique". Paris
 JRAOS : "Journal of the American Oriental Society"
 JASB : "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal". Calcutta
 JBORS : "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society"
 JESHO : "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient"
 JGIS : "The Journal of the Greater Indian Society". Calcutta
 JIH : "Journal of Indian History". Madras
 JNSI : "Journal of the Numismatic Society of India".
 JNES : "Journal of Near Eastern Studies"
 JRAS : "The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland." London
 JSS : "Journal of Semitic Studies".
 MAO : "Monografie Archivu Orientalniho" Praha
 MASI : "Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India". Delhi
 MCAAS : "Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences". Connecticut
 MDAFA : "Memoires de la delegation archaeologique Franscaise en Afghanistan". Paris
 MDTB : "Memoirs of the Deptt. of the Toyo Bunko"
 MMAI : "Memoirs de la mission archeologique en Iran"
 MN : "Museum Notes". New York

MNH	: Museum of Natural History
MVAG	: "Mitteilungen der Vorder asiatisch—Aegyptischen Gessellschaft". Leipzig
MW	: "Muslim World"
NC	: "Numismatic Chronicle" New Series.
NZ	: "Numismatische Zeitschrift"
OBR	: "Oriental and Babylonian Record". London
OTF	: Oriental Translation Fund
PELOV	: Publications de l'Ecole des langue orientales vivantes
PHT	: Persian Historical Texts
PZGA	: "Philogogus Zeitschrift fur das classiche Alterthum". Gottingen-Leipzig.
PIHANS	: Publications de l'Institut historique et archæologique Neerlandias de Stanbul. Stanbul
PPMHU	: "Papers Peabody Museum Harvard University"
RE	: "Rauly's Real Encyclopaedic der classischaft" Neue Blarbeitung, begonnen von G. Wissowa, hrsg. von W. Kroll
RMP	: "Rheinischen Museum fur Philologie" Bonn, Frankfur am Main.
RN	: "Revue numismatique". Paris
SBE	: The Sacred Books of the East
SIAS	: The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Copenhagen
SPAW	: "Sitzungsberishta der Preassichen Academic der Wissenschaften". Berlin
TC	: "Tamil Culture"
ZDMG	: "Zeitshrift der Deutschan Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft". Berlin
ZVTA	: "Zeki Velidi Togan'a armagan" Istanbul
ZVSGIS	: "Zeitschrift fur vergleic-hende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebeite der indogermanischen Sprachen". Berlin



Painted vase from Merv.
5th century A.D.



7th-8th-century murals, Afrasiab



7th-8th-century murals, Afrasiab



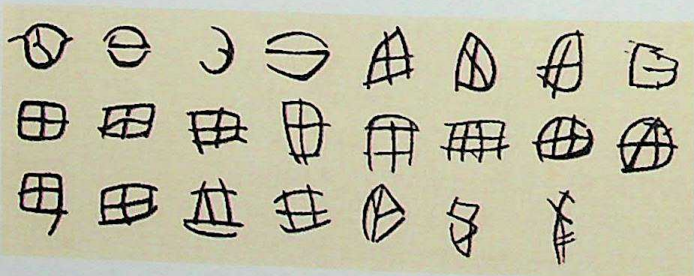
Golden head of bull.
End of the third millenium B.C.



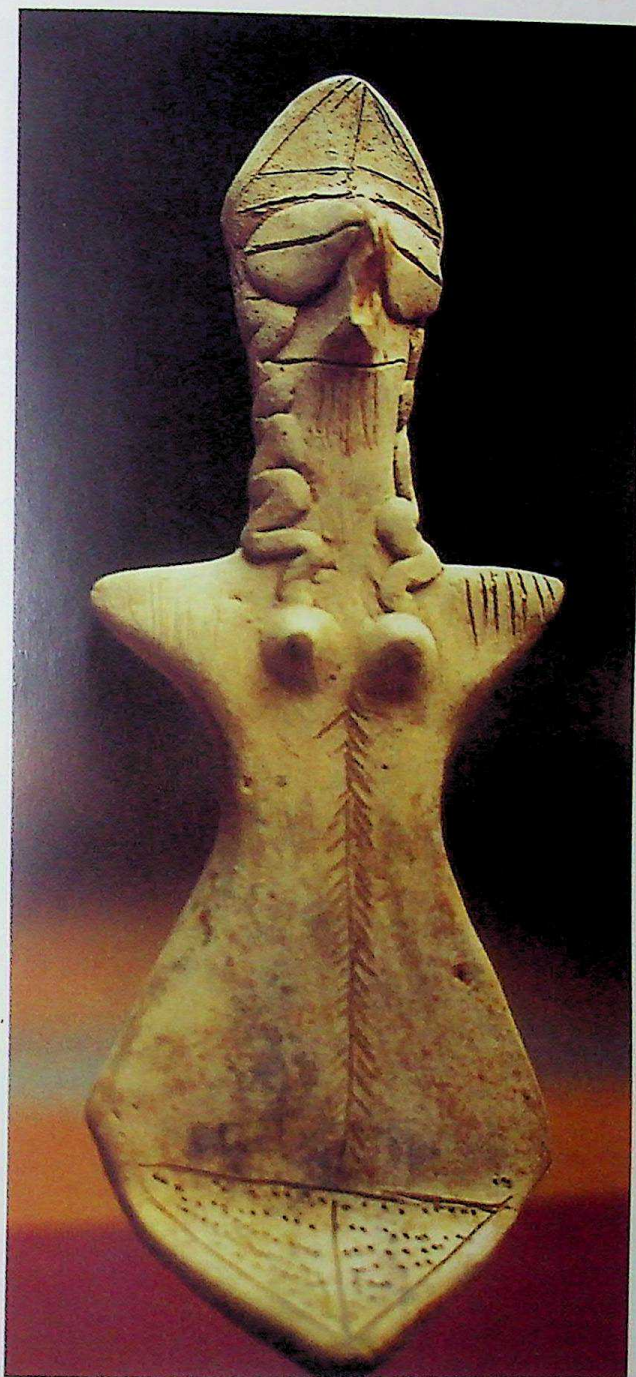
Stone beads from Margiana



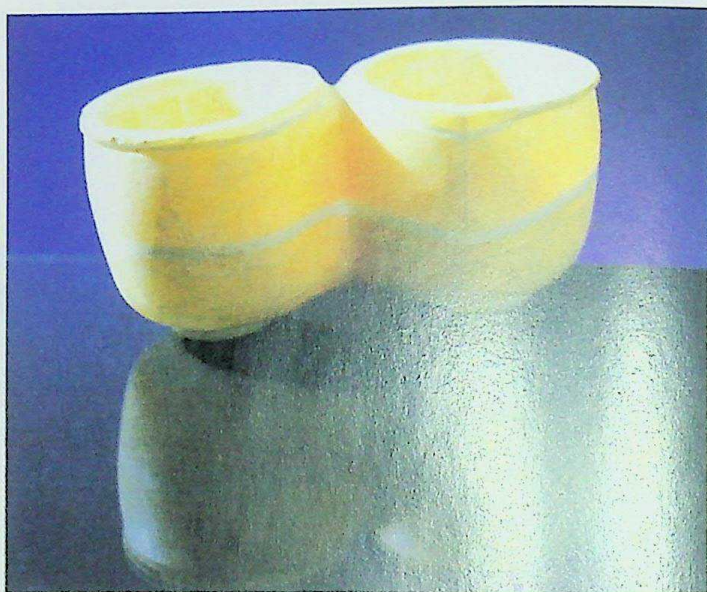
Parthian warrior, Fragment of clay statue. Old Nisa.
2nd Century B.C.



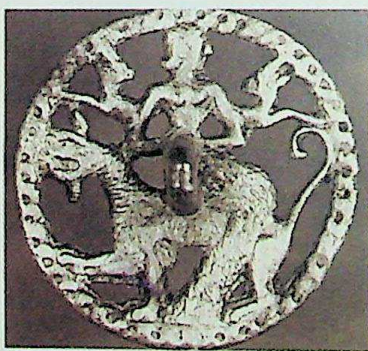
Signs on Margianian tokens



Female clay figurine representing a symbol of fertility
From Altyn-tepe. Bronze Age.



Alabaster double vessel from Margiana



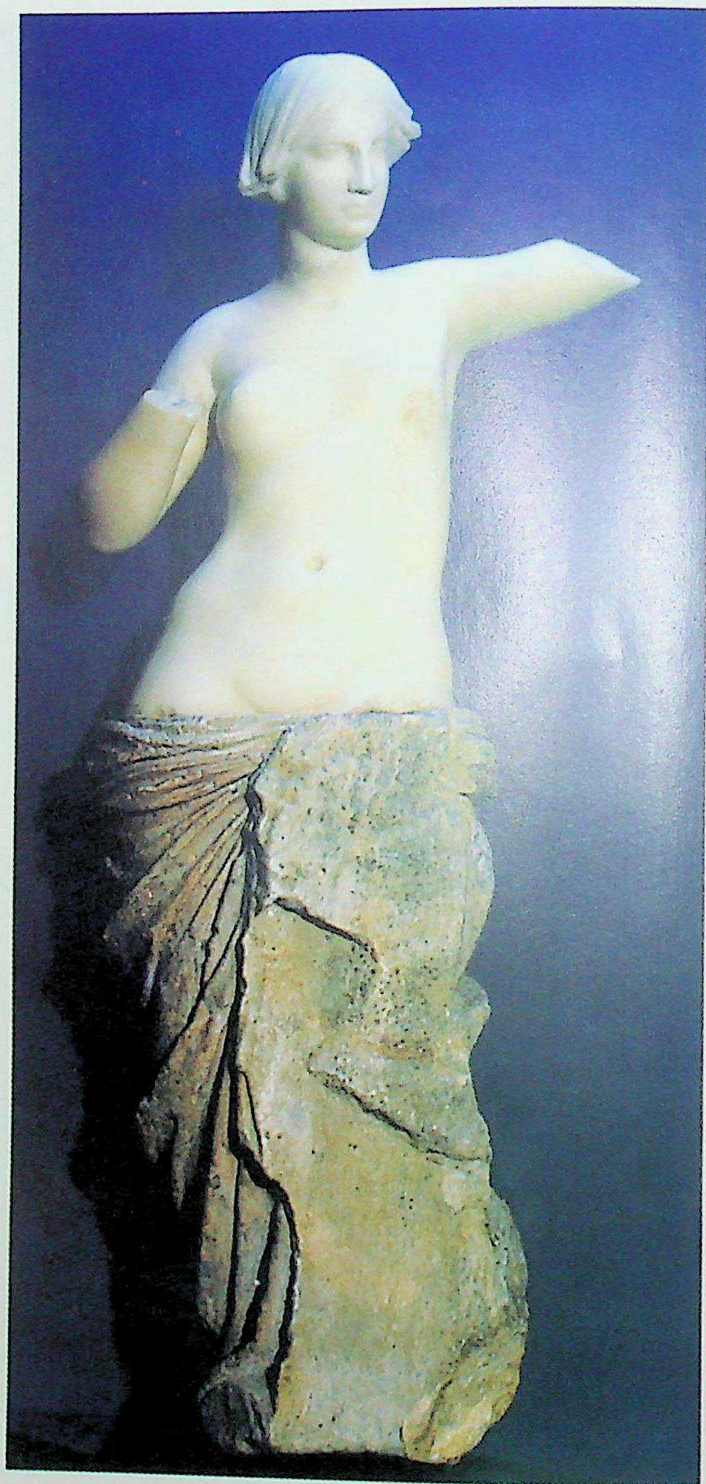
Seals with images of the “mistress of animals”
from Bactria and Margiana



Stone cosmetic bottles from Margiana



Horn-shaped vessels made of ivory with marvellous artistic carving from old Nisa



Marble statue of a nude goddess. Old Nisa.
2nd century B.C.

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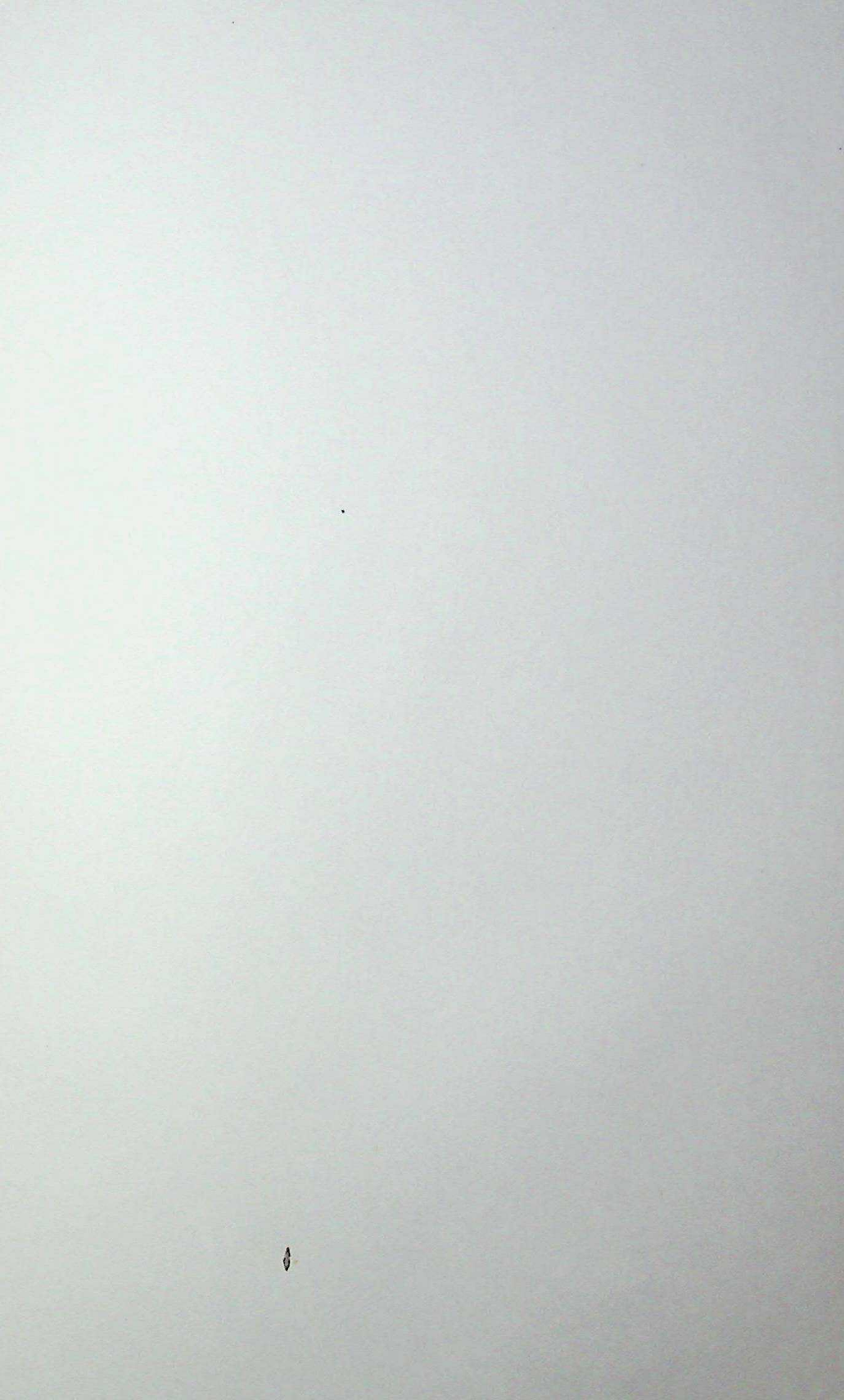
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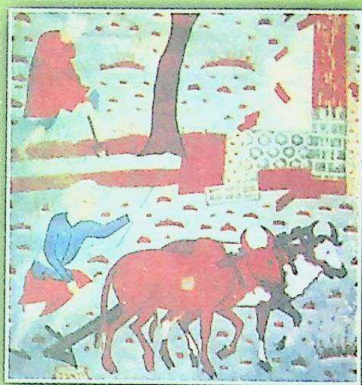
567, Diamond Harbour Road,
Behala, Kolkata 700 034

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ISBN: 81-7541-246-1 (Set)



From the cover of Tazhiki, Dushanbe, 1989

Central Asia
Pre-Historic to Pre-Modern Times
English Translation of
TAZHIKI
Pre Ancient, Ancient and Medieval History
B.G. Gafurov

ISBN No: 81-7541-246-1 (2 Vols. Set)

Set Price Rs 2500; US\$ 80



SHIPRA PUBLICATIONS

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Delhi-110 092, India

Ph. 91-11-55277210, 22500954

Email info@shiprapublications.com

URL// www.shiprapublications.com

ISBN 81-7541-244-5 Vol.1



9 788175 412446